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The qualification of Figure and Ground in factive-fictive motion. A tentative exploration of motion events in literary discourse

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ANEXO I: DECLARACIÓN DE NO PLAGIO

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THE QUALIFICATION OF FIGURE AND GROUND IN FACTIVE-FICTIVE MOTION.
A TENTATIVE EXPLORATION OF MOTION EVENTS IN LITERARY DISCOURSE

y presentado para la obtención del título correspondiente, cuyo/s tutor/ es/son:

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Resumen

El Trabajo de Fin de Máster (TFM) nace del interés por revisar la distinción entre movimiento factivo y movimiento fictivo establecida por Leonard Talmy, pionero en el estudio lingüístico-cognitivo de este tipo de eventos. La originalidad de la disertación radica en dos puntos fundamentales: el cambio de foco que propone, y la selección de un tipo particular de discurso, como es el literario.

Por lo que se refiere al primer punto, cabe mencionar que, hasta ahora, la literatura especializada ha ofrecido una proliferación de estudios centrados en la veracidad del evento de forma global. Sin embargo, el enfoque propuesto pretende dilucidar, en primer lugar, si la veracidad del evento, es decir, si la manera que tenemos de experimentar un determinado evento, depende del grado de veracidad que manifiesten dos componentes fundamentales del esquema del movimiento: la Figura y la Base[1]. Y, en segundo lugar, si conviene proponer distintos niveles de interpretación: uno atentiendo al contexto inmediato y un segundo correspondiente al contexto global o "distante"

Es importante destacar que, hasta ahora, han sido otros componentes del esquema, principalmente Camino[2] y Manera, los que han gozado de un mayor reconocimiento y estudio. De hecho, entre las tipologías existentes, las que gozan de mayor popularidad son aquellas que se basan en el comportamiento lingüístico de de estos dos componentes. Quizá esa sea una de las explicaciones por las que la Figura y la Base han sido los componentes menos estudiados del esquema. Es más, quizá pueda afirmarse que la mayor parte de lo que conocemos de la Base, por ejemplo, lo sabemos a partir de lo que se ha dicho sobre el Camino. Una lengua de marco satelital como el inglés tiende a utilizar satélites –preposiciones que indican la dirección de movimiento– para expresar la información de la Base. En el momento que utilizamos *into* ya podemos inferir que la Base es un contenedor. De la misma forma, una lengua de marco

[1] Nótese que la falta de atención a estos dos componentes del esquema de movimiento cobra más interés si tenemos en cuenta que ha sido un tema destacado en el XI Congreso Internacional de la Asociación Española de Lingüística Cognitiva (AELCO), celebrado los días 17, 18 y 19 de octubre de 2018. Entre otros, el tema fue tratado por Maldonado, como se puede observar en http://www.uco.es/aelco2018/en/conference/abstract-book/.

[2] Utilizamos el término Camino como adaptación del inglés Path, tal y como se recoge comúnmente en la literatura en español.

verbal como el español, que tiende a lexicalizar esta información sobre la direccionalidad del movimiento en el verbo, haría uso del verbo *entrar* para hacernos inferir que la Base es un contenedor.

Por lo que se refiere a la aplicación del estudio al ámbito literario, debemos consignar lo siguiente. Parece que existe una tendencia a estudiar el comportamiento lingüístico de los eventos de movimiento a través de secuencias de oraciones aisladas, sin indicación del contexto discursivo en que aparecen. Para evitar esta falta de información contextual, esta disertación pretende contribuir en cierta medida a un estudio interdisciplinar al realizar un análisis lingüístico de eventos de movimiento, tanto factivo como fictivo, tal y como aparecen en el discurso literario, un género poco investigado hasta la fecha en lo relativo tales cuestiones. Hay que tener en cuenta que la literatura se caracteriza por presentar entidades con altos niveles de abstracción, distintas de las que normalmente caracterizan a la Figura o la Base en los ejemplos utilizados en la literatura lingüística pertinente. Dichas entidades de los contextos literarios resultan de interés para dilucidar ciertas cuestiones de interés a la hora de describir el movimiento fictivo. La obra elegida para llevar a cabo el análisis, *El corazón de las tinieblas*, no solo es la más célebre del novelista británico de origen polaco Joseph Conrad. La novela, que tiene como tema principal la exploración de la oscuridad inherente al ser humano mientras se desarrolla un viaje de ida y vuelta desde Londres hasta el Congo, constituye una fuente de gran valor para el lingüista cognitivo, dada la abundancia de expresionen en que intervienen entidades con distintos niveles de abstracción como participantes en eventos de movimiento. Ello ha hecho necesario abordar con cierto detalle la relación que existe entre abstracción, metaforización y palpabilidad de las entidades a la hora de caracterizar las entidades que realizan el rol de Figura y Base en el evento.

Más concretamente, al estudiar ejemplos de eventos de movimiento dentro del contexto literario, nos encontramos entidades actuando como Figura y/o Base con un elevado grado de complejidad. Entidades que nos hacen plantearnos preguntas como las siguientes: ¿Hasta qué punto podemos cuestionar el grado de veracidad que rige en expresiones como *La relación no va a ninguna parte* o *El tiempo vuela*? ¿Qué hacemos con ejemplos que están formados por entidades más complejas como *Pepe se adentró en el umbral de lo invisible* o *El río salió del corazón de las tinieblas*? ¿Se deben tener en cuenta las características semánticas del núcleo del sintagma nominal o las del complemento que posmodifica el núcleo? Estas y otras preguntas serán abordadas a lo largo del trabajo.

En lo concerniente a la metodología empleada para analizar la veracidad de Figura y Base en estos eventos, se ha decidido hacer uso, a modo de estudio exploratorio, de una serie de parámetros propuestos por Talmy para medir la palpabilidad de entidades que actúan como Figura o Base. A raíz del análisis de dichas entidades de acuerdo con determinados parámetros, se pretende crear una clasificación de las mismas desde las más concretas y perceptibles a las más abstractas y conceptuales.

Además, con respecto al movimiento fictivo, debemos indicar que esta investigación aborda necesariamente dos tipos de construcciones que cumplen condiciones especiales: los llamados eventos de *coextension-path* y *frame-relative motion*. Según Talmy, el hecho de que los seres humanos estemos dotados de la capacidad de movernos nos hace pensar en la existencia de un sesgo cognitivo en nuestro cerebro hacia el dinamismo. Es un argumento interesante con el cual podríamos explicar por qué hablamos constantemente de forma metafórica de entidades que no pueden moverse por sí mismas como si lo pudieran hacer, como en *La carretera va de Madrid a Almería*. Estos son los casos de coextension path. También se puede dar la posibilidad, aunque con menos frecuencia, de hablar de algo que tiene movimiento *per se* como si fuera una entidad estática, como si fuera un mero observador de la escena. Imaginemos que estamos dentro de un navío que avanza por la corriente de un río y decimos *La costa nos pasó sin siquiera darnos cuenta*. Esto sería un caso de frame-relative motion.

En cuanto a los hallazgos obtenidos tras la investigación, los resultados del estudio sugieren que se puede establecer una predicción en cuanto a si un evento se experimenta de forma factiva o fictiva dependiendo de las características semánticas establecidas entre las entidades que hacen de Figura y Base en el evento de movimiento. El análisis muestra que la combinación de Figuras y Bases con bajos niveles de abstracción, esto es, altos niveles de palpabilidad, tienden a dar lugar a eventos de movimiento con una lectura factiva, independiente de las relaciones metonímicas que hubiera en las entidades. Más interesante es lo hallado concerniente a los altos niveles de abstracción de Figura y Base. Se espera que, a mayor nivel de abstracción de ambos componentes, mayor probabilidad de experimentar el evento en cuestión de forma fictiva. Y aunque el análisis confirma estos supuestos, hay que recordar que el corpus empleado solo cuenta con una cantidad muy limitada de ejemplos. Extender la cantidad de datos para una investigación futura servirá para garantizar datos más concluyentes al respecto.

Para abordar una de las principales dificultades de la investigación, resulta interesante observar la distinción realizada en el trabajo entre dos niveles de interpretación a la hora de identificar las entidades: una inferencia a través del contexto inmediato y otra a través de un contexto más distante. Como hemos dicho antes, en el discurso literario, se han encontrado muchos ejemplos de sintagmas nominales en los que núcleo y los complementos presentaban entidades con distintos grados de abstracción. A través de una segunda fase de interpretación, inferimos cuál es el verdadero referente de dicha Figura o Base y podemos verificar si el movimiento se realiza en la dimensión espacial o, por el contrario, en la temporal. De esta forma, podemos encontrar una explicación a la fictividad del evento.

Por último, cabe mencionar alguna de las posibles salidas de investigación en líneas futuras una vez realizado este estudio exploratorio. En esta investigación, se han utilizado solamente siete rasgos semánticos a la hora de clasificar Figuras y Bases. Aunque los rasgos han servido para verificar el nivel de veridicalidad de ambos componentes en el evento, es cierto que algunas entidades requerirían un análisis más prolijo, con mayor número de rasgos semánticos, para ser distinguidas de otras. Sin embargo, quizá sea más interesante intentar realizar una categorización distinta a la ofrecida entre eventos factivos y fictivos. En su lugar, los eventos se podrían distinguir dependiendo del nivel de esfuerzo cognitivo necesario para poder conceptualizar el evento en nuestras mentes. De esta forma, se le otorgaría una mayor importancia a todos los sintagmas nominales que hacen de Figura y Base y que presentan un alto nivel de complejidad cognitiva. Otras de las posibles salidas de esta investigación se encuentran en la comparación con otras lenguas en cuanto a estos eventos de movimiento. Por ejemplo, hemos verificado una vez más que los seres humanos tenemos una tendencia a atribuirles a entidades que no son animadas por sí mismas la capacidad del movimiento. Sin embargo, ¿sucede lo mismo con la misma frecuencia en otras lenguas? Además, podemos hacer que el movimiento expresado tenga lugar en la dimensión temporal o en la espacial, dependiendo de la realidad que queramos expresar. ¿Qué occurirá en lenguas que no lexicalizan el tiempo de la misma forma que lo hace el inglés?

En resumen, el análisis de los verbos de movimiento de Manera en la obra literaria *El corazón de las tinieblas* desde el punto de vista cognitivo puede servir para despertar el interés en el campo sobre otros factores, como el tiempo necesario para conceptualizar el

evento a pesar de contar con Figuras y Bases formados por complejos sintagmas nominales y distintos grados de abstracción.

Palabras clave: Movimiento factivo, movimiento fictivo, Figura, Base

Abstract

This dissertation attempts to explore the factive-fictive divide from the perspective of the two most overlooked components of the motion schema: Figure and Ground. Scant information in the literature concerns both components, and most of the available knowledge in the field on the matter is achieved through the study of other components of the schema, mainly Path. By examining authentic occurrences in literary texts, more precisely, in Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, this research aims at identifying whether certain semantic features of Figure and Ground as observed in real discourse may determine whether an event is experienced as factive or fictive. To distinguish categories, ranging from the most concrete—most perceptual—entities, to the most abstract—most perceptual—ones, some of the Talmy's palpability-related parameters were selected. The results suggest that the relationship between abstraction, palpability and metaphorization in Figure and Ground may determine in most of the cases how an event is experienced in our minds.

Keywords: Factive-fictive divide, Figure, Ground, Talmy's palpability-related parameters

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Going up that river was like
traveling back to the beginning of the world,
when the plants ran wild
and the trees were kings.

Joseph Conrad, Heart of Darkness

Typographical conventions

Metaphors/Metonymies	Small capitals e.g., LIFE IS A JOURNEY
Cognitive cases (Talmy's)	Initial capital letter e.g., Figure, Ground, Path

1. Introduction

Research on the linguistic representation of motion events from a cognitive perspective has been extensively studied in recent years (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003, 2004; Radden, 1996; Slobin, 1996, 2004, 2005, 2006; among others). According to Leonard Talmy, the undeniable pioneer in the study of motion events with his theory for motion patterns and his categorization of all the existing languages into a verb-framed and satellite-framed (1985, 1991, 2000b), it is possible to classify motion events into factive and fictive depending on the performance of our cognitive system (2000a).

Whereas *factive* indicates the existence of "a cognitive assessment of greater veridicality", the term *fictive* is used as a "reference to the imaginal capacity of cognition" (2000a: 100). Fictive motion events have been defined to be expressions in which no real, physical movement takes place. Following Talmy's line of research, Matlock (2001, 2004a, 2004b, 2017) extended the knowledge of the field by devoting her research to the study of these expressions and came up with interesting insights regarding the matter. However, it seems that mainstream research so far has consciously or unconsciously projected the idea of a clearcut division between both factive and fictive categories, unexplicitly rejecting the possibility of a continuum or alternative assessment. If Talmy makes use of his palpability-related parameters to explain why an event is factive or fictive, and these parameters are often contemplated in terms of a gradience of veridicality, it sounds reasonable, in principle, to turn the focus of attention to the two most relevant components of the motion event[3], in order to assess their contribution to the final configuration of an event as variably factive or fictive.

Indeed, the approach in this dissertation suggests a genuine change of perspective. Literature in motion events has been apparently confined to explain why a representation is factive or fictive very much focusing on the verb + preposition structure concurring in the Figure and Ground motion schema. But surprisingly enough, Figure and Ground *per se* have been hitherto

[3] This lack of attention to Figure and Ground in the motion schema is shown to be even more relevant taking into consideration that some scholars addressed the matter on the 11th International Conference of the Spanish Cognitive Linguistics Association (SCOLA/AELCO), which took place between 17th-19th October 2018. Among others, the topic was addressed by Maldonado, as can be found in: http://www.uco.es/aelco2018/en/conference/abstract-book/.

the object of scant consideration. Both components seem to have been widely overlooked in the scholarly literature. There exists an apparent dearth of information on the two most relevant components of the spatial configuration, their qualification being only indirectly addressed and dispersedly mentioned in recent studies.

As defined by Talmy: the Figure is commonly understood as "a moving or conceptually movable object whose path or site is at issue", whereas the Ground is "a reference frame, or a reference object stationary within a reference frame, with respect to which the Figure's path or site is characterized" (2000a: 26). As suggested from widespread definitions such as this, all too often Figure and Ground are characterised in terms of *objects*. Hence, one would tend to believe that movable objects as Figures would trigger factive interpretations, whereas fictive motion would respond to stationary clearly shaped ones. As for the Ground, the general belief implies that it concerns existing, well defined entities. However, real discourse provides us with abstract and metaphorical Figures and Grounds that require a higher cognitive effort for the representation of the global spatial configuration, as will be shown in this paper. The main objective of this dissertation, therefore, is to place a focus on Figure and Ground as components of a varying level of abstraction that seem to have enjoyed only a marginal relevance to the event so far, despite their mandatory occurrence for the event to take place and their subsequent key role in the final grasp of the spatial arrangement.

A further point triggering this study should be mentioned. Research on the factive or fictive nature of motion events has been largely based thus far on the analysis of sentences in isolation, giving little indication of speech domain. Even more precisely, little—or almost no—attention has been paid to literary discourse, a rich domain abounding in metaphor and abstract entities with an arguable incidence on the final fictive-factive interpretation of movement. In this way, this dissertation attempts to provide a tentative exploration on whether a fine-grained qualification of entities acting as Figure and Ground might shed some light on the factive-fictive divide of motion events.

For these objectives to be accomplished Joseph Conrad's short novel *Heart of Darkness* was first selected as an adequate testing ground, allowing the possibility of analysing a wide range of complex situations where more or less concrete or abstract, perceptual or conceptual Figures and Grounds variously combine to shape up a particular motion event. Second, Figures and Grounds in our corpus occurring along with the ten most frequent manner-conflating verbs were

analysed according to seven out of the thirteen palpability-related parameters provided by Talmy: *palpability, clarity, intensity, ostension, objectivity, type-of-geometry and actionability* (2000a: 141-143)[4]. Drawing on the assumption that a higher level of factivity or fictivity will apply depending on the score in the palpability-related parameters qualifying Figure and Ground, it is possible to state that the more abstract the Figure and/or the Ground, the more conceptual—and less perceptual—the motion will be, and thus, more fictive. This way, the dissertation also aims at unpretentiously contributing to fill a gap of research as presented by Talmy: to verify whether the palpability-related parameters exhibited by Figures and Grounds are sufficient to explain the factivity or fictivity of an event.

In more precise terms, the dissertation attempts to seek an answer to the following questions: (1) To what extent does the interaction between the palpability-related parameters of Figure and Ground determine the way an event is experienced as factive or fictive?, and (2) What constitutes the prevailing pattern of motion events in literary discourse as represented in Conrad's novel, according to (1)? Does literature exhibit a high degree of motion fictivity? Concerning the first research question, it is hypothesized that the relationship between the levels of palpability in Figure and Ground determines in most of the cases whether the event is experienced as either factive or fictive. When it comes to the second research question, it is hypothesized that both components, Figure and Ground, are allowed to present a high level of abstraction in literary discourse, and that therefore a high degree of fictivity will be found in these texts.

The remainder of this dissertation proceeds as follows: after this brief introduction, the second section begins by laying out the theoretical dimensions of the research. Section three expands on the research questions and the hypotheses formulated. In section four, the data source and the methodology used in this study are presented. The fifth and sixth sections comprise the results obtained from the analysis and their discussion. Finally, the last section is concerned with the conclusions, limitations and possible lines of investigation.

[4] The other six parameters, namely *localizability, identifiability, content vs. structure, accessibility to consciousness* and *certainty*, were ruled out, for the sake of clarity and given the limitations of this exploratory study.

2. Theoretical preliminaries

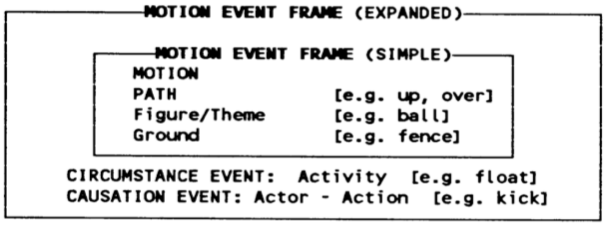
The theoretical foundations on which this research is based provide a detailed overview of the the study of motion events. The first subsection offers a general introduction to the basic concepts of the field and the most popular categorization of languages provided so far. Once acquainted with the terminology, the second subsection opens with a deeper focus placed on the field of motion events regarding specifically the English language. Finally, the last subsection explores fictive motion as a linguistic phenomenon to cover crucial concepts, such as the notion of *ception* (Talmy, 2000a: 139), *mental simulation* (Barsalou, 1999; Matlock, 2001, 2004a), or the relationship between metaphor and abstraction with fictive motion (Lakoff and Johnson, 1989).

2.1. The origin of the study of motion: the motion schema and Talmy's dual typology

The linguistic description of motion events from a cognitive perspective has attracted a great deal of attention in recent times (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003, 2004; Maienborn, 1990, 1994; Radden, 1996; Slobin, 1996, 2004, 2005, 2006; Valenzuela and Rojo, 2003, 2009, among many others). However, it can be arguably stated that the pioneer in the field was Leonard Talmy, who studied these expressions and proposed what he called *lexicalization patterns* (1972, 1985, 1991, 2000b).

Talmy suggested isolating elements separately within the domain of meaning and within the domain of surface expression (2000b: 25). These semantic elements are Motion, Path, Figure, Ground, and the co-events of Manner and Cause; by contrast, surface expressions make reference to elements like verbs, subordinate clauses, and satellites, that is, "the grammatical category of any constituent other than a noun phrase or prepositional phrase complement that is in a sister relation to the verb root" (2000b: 102). According to Talmy (2000b: 25), the basic schema of a motion event consists of "one object (the Figure) moving or located with respect to another object (the reference object or Ground)". Although employing a different terminology, Aske agrees with Talmy in considering the existence of both relevant and optional components in the schema, as represented in the following figure (Aske, 1989: 1):

Figure 1. The motion schema



Since Talmy's contribution to the field, the linguistic description of motion has attracted a great deal of attention to the extent of becoming the object of study in other languages as well, such as Arabic (Al-Qarny, 2010), Basque (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003, 2004), Chinese (Chu, 2004), French (Kopecka, 2009), German (Maienborn, 1990, 1994), Japanese (Matsumoto, 1996a, 1996b), Korean (Oh, 2003), and Turkish (Özçalıskan & Slobin, 1999, 2003). Indeed, the topic has even been included as part of some grammars, such as *The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language*, so it is not far-fetched to state that motion description in its different facets receives considerable critical attention nowadays.

Talmy (2000b: 221) argued that—depending on how the conceptual structure of each language is projected onto the syntactic structure—it is possible to categorize all the languages existing in the world in terms of a dual category typology. Verb-framed languages, such as English, German and Russian, conflate Motion and Manner in the verb, expressing Path in an external element. On the other hand, satellite-framed languages, such as French, Spanish and Turkish, lexicalise Motion and Path in the verb, and Manner in an independent element, usually a gerund[5]. Slobin (2006: 61) offered a crosslinguistic summary for Talmy's dual typology that helps to illustrate the phenomenon under examination:

[5] Although languages such as Mandarin and Thai were treated as satellite-framed languages according to Talmy (1985, 1991, 2000b), some scholars noted that some languages did not fit in Talmy's binary typology (Ameka and Essegbey, 2013; Slobin, 2004; Zlatev and Yangklang, 2004). It was Slobin (2004: 228) the first one who accurately suggested the existence of a third category, equipollently-framed languages, in which both Manner and Path components are conveyed by *equipollent* elements.

Figure 2. Verb-framed and satellite-framed languages

Verb-Framed languages	**Satellite-Framed languages**
Romance	Germanic
Greek	Slavic
Semitic	Celtic
Turkic	Finno-Ugric
Basque	
Korean	
Japanese	

As previously stated, Path and Manner components are lexicalised differently across languages depending on typological preferences, something leading scholars to describe languages as satellite-framed or verb-framed. Regarding the Path component, let us consider Talmy's (2000b: 53-56) distinction of the following elements:

— Vector, i.e., the direction of movement;
— Conformation, or the relationship with the geometry of the Ground;
— Deictic, being defined as the explicit expression of "direction toward the speaker" or "in direction other than toward the speaker".

For the sake of clarity, we must first examine how the lexicalisation of the Path component in the motion schema differs across languages by comparing the following examples from Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 232):

En. The boy went **out** of the yard
Ge. Der Junge ging aus dem Hof **hinaus**
'The boy went from the yard out'
Fr. Le garçon **sortit** de la cour
'The boy exited from the yard'
Sp. El chico **salió** del patio
'The boy exited from the yard'

As seen from the examples above, in verb-framed languages, such as French and Spanish, the Path and the Motion components seem to conflate in the verb; by contrast, satellite-framed languages, such as English and German, reflect a general tendency to express the Motion component in the verb and the Path component by means of a particle called *satellite* (Talmy,

2000b: 102). In other words, the information regarding the Vector and the Conformation is lexicalised through the use of satellites in English and German.

Alongside Path, the expression of Manner is lexicalized differently depending on cross-linguistic typological preferences. Compare the following examples extracted from Ungerer and Schmid (1996: 233), where the expression of the Manner component differs across Romance and Germanic languages:

En. The boy **rode** out of the yard
Ge. Der Junge **ritt** aus dem Hof hinaus
'The boy rode from the yard out'
Fr. Le garçon sortit **à cheval** de la cour
'The boy exited on horse from the yard'
Sp. El chico salió **a caballo** del patio
'The boy exited on horse from the yard'

The above-mentioned examples help illustrate how in verb-framed languages Manner is usually—and optionally—conveyed through subordinate elements, such as adverbial expressions or gerunds, while satellite-framed languages tend to lexicalize this component through a manner-conflating verb (Slobin, 2006: 61).

After this brief and overarching framework of motion events, the following subsection lays out the idiosyncrasies of English language, most important for our corpus.

2.2. English among the languages in the world: going beyond generalities

It is not far-fetched to consider that English is the most researched language in terms of motion, since most of the existing contrastive studies attempt to establish comparisons between English and another language (see Aske, 1989; Cifuentes-Férez, 2008; Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2003; Matsumoto, 1996b; Özçaliskan and Slobin, 1999, Rojo and Valenzuela, 2003; among many others). Drawing therefore on existing literature, this section comprises a more detailed overview of motion events as coded in English.

First, as stated in the previous section, English is a prototypical example of a satellite-framed language. This language category often lexicalizes manner in the main verb and path in a satellite available in the inventory of the language. Some of the examples below are extracted from Talmy (2000b: 104-105):

Figure 3. Some path satellites in English

I ran *in*	He ran *across*	It flew *up*
I ran *out*	He ran *along*	It flew *down*
I climbed *on*	He ran *through*	I went *above*
I stepped *off*	He ran *past/by*	I went *below*
He drove *off*	She came *over*	I ran *up* (to her)
I stepped *aside*	It toppled *over*	She followed along *after* (us)
She came *forth*	She spun *around*	They slammed *together*
She walked *away*	She walked *around*	They rolled *apart*
He went *ahead*	She walked (all) *about*	It shrank *in*
He came *back*		It spread *out*

Second, according to Aske (1989: 4), there are two types of path phrases in English depending on the function the path component performs in the event: "one basically modifies the verb, or predicates a location of the whole proposition, while the other does something else, namely it predicates an end-point location of the Figure argument". Aske's more subtle specifications of the path component in English is based on the notion of telicity. What is meant by *telic* is that the Figure passes the boundary of the Ground whereas what is meant by *atelic* is just the fact "that the Figure reaches the boundary or detaches itself from the boundary, but it does not *cross* that boundary" (Imbert, 2012: 242). The term telic was later coined as *boundary-crossing* by Slobin (1997). Let us consider *Lou ran in the park* (atelic) and *Pat swam into the cave* (telic) as examples of each possibility (Aske, 1989: 4). By contrast, the use of the plain locative path phrase is similar in both verb-framed and satellite-framed categories (Aske, 1989: 7). According to Aske,

> It doesn't appear that all English path satellites are telic, i.e. predicators of the Figure, e.g., *along.* Others, such as *around, over, up*, etc. may or may not be end-point predicators in addition to path modifiers/predicates. Yet others, such as *in(to)* and *out (of)*, seem to always predicate a location of the Figure (Aske, 1989: 7).

Third, even thought this pattern using a satellite along with a manner verb is "[the] most characteristic expression of motion" in English (Talmy, 2000b: 27), the language exhibits an arguably rich lexicon of path verbs, mostly driven from the language's Romance input. Some of these path verbs are listed in Talmy (2000b: 52): *enter, exit, ascend, descend, cross, pass, circle, advance, proceed, approach, arrive, depart, return, join, separate, part, rise, leave,*

near, follow. This leads us to assert that English is a particular case of satellite-framed language, partially exhibiting a pattern also prevalen in verb-framed languages[6].

Fourth, according to scholarly research, verb-framed languages have been suggested to have a richer lexicon of path of motion—or path-conflating—verbs (Cifuentes-Férez, 2010), whereas satellite-framed languages are considered to have a larger lexicon of manner of motion—or manner-conflating—verbs (Slobin, 2004). Moreover, these claims have been increasingly accepted thanks to some evidence provided by recent investigation (Verkerk 2013, 2014, 2015). This would be the case of English, where examples similar to (1) and (2) prevail.

(1) George ran into the room

(2) George came into the room

Most common and natural patterns of the language conform to (1), where both Vector, that is, the direction, and Conformation, i.e., the container in Talmy's terms, are conveyed in the preposition *into*. Occurrence (2) makes use of a verb encoding the Deictic component that could express "direction toward the speaker" or "direction other than toward the speaker" (Talmy, 2000b: 56).

In recent times, many scholars have proposed some categorizations of manner-conflating verbs (Ibarretxe-Antuñano, 2004b, 2006a; Levin, 1993; Ozcaliskan, 2004; Slobin, 2000, 2005; among others)[7]. As this category will be a focal point in our dissertation, some further observations seem appropriate.

Manner of motion verbs often describe motion that involves displacement—although not necessarily—without specifying an inherent direction in the meaning of the verb (Levin, 1993: 264)[8]. In addition, "these verbs have meanings that include a notion of manner or means of

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[6] Actually, it is pivotal to highlight that almost every language show, to some degree, a mixed behaviour, and should therefore be judged as a mixed type (Beavers, 2008; Beavers *et al.,* 2010; Croft *et al.,* 2010).

[7] As for recent categorizations of path-conflating verbs, see Berthele, 2004; Narasimhan, 2003; Verkerk, 2014, 2015; Wälchi, 2001.

[8] According to Slobin (2006: 61), manner is an umbrella term that refers to several aspects of the verb, namely motor patterns (e.g., *hop*, *jump*, *skip*), speed of motion (e.g., *walk*, *run*, *sprint*), force dynamics (e.g., *step*, *tread*, *tramp*), attitude (e.g., *amble*, *saunter*, *stroll*), implement (e.g., *sled*, *ski*, *skateboard*), etc.

motion" and "differ from each other in terms of the specific manner or means" (Levin, 1993: 264). In an attempt to examine the differences concerning the structure and the size of the manner verb lexicon across languages, Slobin suggested the existence of two different types of manner-conflating verbs in every existing language (Slobin, 1997: 459, as cited in Verkerk, 2013: 172):

> Languages seem to have a 'two-tiered' lexicon of manner verbs: the neutral, everyday verbs–like *walk* and *fly* and *climb*, and the more expressive or exceptional verbs–like *dash* and *swoop* and *scramble*. In S-languages [satellite-framed languages], the second tier is extensive and elaborated, making distinctions that do not play a role in the considerably smaller second tiers in V-languages [verb-framed languages].

It is worth noting that satellite-framed languages are characterized for having the widest and largest amount of second-tier manner-conflating verbs (Verkerk, 2013: 172)[9].

Last in our characterization of English most common motion events, a fourth notion in the path component, recently analyzed and proposed by Slobin (2008: 211), must be mentioned. The so-called Earth-Grid Displacement encompasses motion directions in relation to earth-based coordinates, namely north-south, east-west, up-down, and other types, such as upstream-downstream. Even though the focus of the dissertation is not placed on the verb and on the preposition, which are components that could lexicalize this information, it is pivotal to understand this in order to examine if the factivity or fictivity of an event could be influenced by further elements of the motion schema.

So far, this section has attempted to provide an overarching idea of the basics of motion events and the most conspicuous features affecting the English language. The following subsection, however, deals with the terminological distinction of factive and fictive motion and deepens on the latter.

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[9] The complexities of language, however, seem to be endless. Suffice it to say that both path and manner components may not be not mutually excluding: In *soar*, for instance, manner is lexicalised alongside path in the verb root. A possible analysis has been suggested in terms of "mottor pattern-fly, fast rate of motion and upwards path of motion" (Cifuentes-Férez, 2008: 121).

2.3. The phenomenon of fictive motion

Fictive motion (Talmy, 1983, 1996, 2000a), also labelled *abstract motion* (Langacker, 1987), *subjective motion* (Matsumoto, 1996a, 1996b) or *virtual motion* (Langacker, 2005), accounts for cases in which "the displacement is 'mental' rather than real, that is, when reconstructing the scene evoked by the sentence, the hearer mentally traces a given object in a certain direction" (Rojo and Valenzuela, 2009: 243). Notwithstanding the differences in terminology, it appears that the most recognized label nowadays in the field is *fictive motion.* The term *fictive* is usually opposed to *factive*. This clash of representations is accurately described by Talmy as follows:

> [...], we will characterize the representation assessed to be more veridical as factive and the representation assessed to be less veridical as fictive. Adapted from its use in linguistics, the term "factive" is here again intended to indicate a cognitive assessment of greater veridicality, but not to suggest (as perhaps the word "factual" would) that a representation is in some sense objectively real. And the term "fictive" has been adopted for its reference to the imaginal capacity of cognition, not to suggest (as perhaps the word "fictitious" would) that a representation is somehow objectively unreal (Talmy, 2000a: 100).

As will be seen throughout this section, the fact of considering one of the representations "more veridical" or with a "cognitive assessment of greater veridicality" could be contemplated as a further argument in favour of considering a cline of veridicality. Additionally, the label *abstract motion* justifies the importance of covering the relationship between fictivity, metaphor and levels of abstraction. The following subsections are concerned with this relationship and also with other key notions of the fictive motion field. These notions, such as *general fictivity*, *ception*, *mental simulation*—or mental scanning—need to be addressed for the full understanding of this dissertation.

2.3.1. Talmy's general fictivity and its relationship with metaphor and abstraction

Since the emergence of Cognitive Linguistics, and more fundamentally Cognitive Semantics, it is widely comprehended that we cannot separate meaning from conceptualization, that is, "the dynamic cognitive processing associated with the use of conventional units of language" (Kemmer, 2014: 80). Figures like Langacker (1987, 2005) or Talmy (2000a, 2000b) argued that there are overlaps of different domains of human cognitive experience, such as attention, perception, language, etc., when performing different everyday actions, like understanding the meaning of a sentence. This has led to an unsettled theoretical controversy on the hierarchical

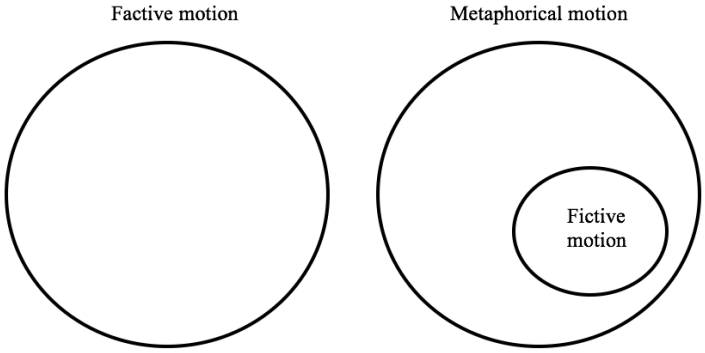
relation holding between Talmy's general fictivity theory and Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. This controversy has become particularly explicit in the interpretation of fictive motion events.

General fictivity is a term coined by Leonard Talmy to deal with the discrepant representations of the same object. This inequality can be contemplated with respect to several dimensions, such as language or vision. Considering the language dimension as one of the main focuses of this dissertation, we could agree in the existence of a first representation related to "the belief held by the speaker or hearer about the real nature of the referent of a sentence", that is, the factive representation, and a second representation, the fictive one, which "is the literal reference of the linguistic forms that make up the sentence" (Talmy, 2000a: 101). Let's examine the well-established example of *This fence goes from the plateau to the valley*. Whereas the belief held by the speaker claims that the fence is factively stationary, the literal meaning of the sentence portrays the fence as fictively moving (Talmy, 2000a: 101). Drawing on the above, Talmy considers that general fictivity would encompass Lakoff and Johnson's conceptual metaphor theory. However, as is well known, the latter authors defend the argument that some cases of fictive motion can be contemplated in terms of a metaphorical mapping:

> It is common to speak of lines "converging" or "meeting" as if they were moving. We say that "the road runs on for a bit and then splits", "the path stretches along the shore of the lake", "the fence dips and rises in parallel with the terrain". Such language is based on a common way of understanding static shapes metaphorically in terms of motion tracing that shape. For example, in "the roof slopes down", the roof isn't doing anything, but we understand its shape - that of a slope - in terms of a downward "sloping" motion. The metaphor here is that FORM IS MOTION, in which a form is understood in terms of the motion tracing the form (1989: 142).

In other words, in this view, these cases of fictive motion would be grouped in a category of metaphorical motion and justifies the role of metaphor in the events, and more precisely, in the two components that are the object of study of this dissertation: Figure and Ground. The following figure illustrates Lakoff and Johnson's perspective on the matter.

Figure 4. Lakoff and Johnson's perspective on the metaphorical-fictive relationship



To deepen in Lakoff and Johnson's stance, let's consider one of the figurative realizations of motion verbs provided by Moore's (2014: 5) work *The Spatial Language of Time: metaphors, metonymy, and frames of reference*:

(4) We are approaching Christmas.

General belief allows us to comprehend that *Christmas* is an interval of time. For a Lakoffian approach, a mapping of a spatial onto a temporal relation is taking place, leading to consider the existence of the TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor. The pervasiveness of the mapping from a concrete source entity into an abstract target entity in the language is undeniable, but Talmy regards the matter in a manner contrary to Lakoff and Johnson's proposal:

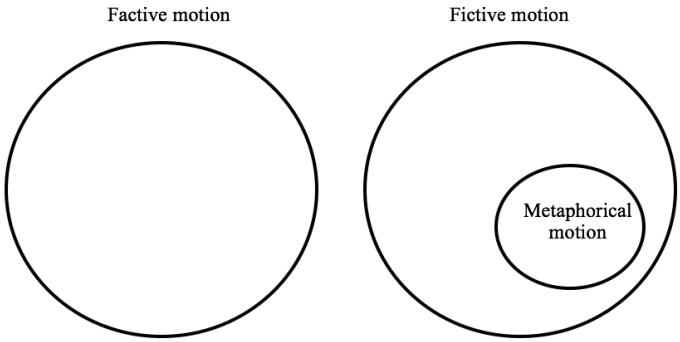
> The source domain and the target domain of a metaphor supply the two discrepant representations. The representation of an entity with the target domain is understood as factive and more veridical. The representation from the source domain that is mapped onto the entity in the target domain, on the other hand, is understood as fictive and less veridical (Talmy, 2000a: 168).

So, for Talmy, a sentence like (4) would be contemplated as if "factive temporality is expressed literally in terms of fictive spatiality", and suggests that the following phenomenon takes place when it comes to metaphorical cases, such as LOVE IS A JOURNEY or ARGUMENT IS WAR (Talmy, 2000a: 168):

(5) Fictive: X is Y
Factive: X is not Y

The most convincing argument to adopt fictivity theory over metaphor theory is that Talmy's general fictivity is construed "to encompass cognitive systems in general rather than just to apply to language" (2000a: 168). We can agree in that love is factively not a journey. However, speakers fictively portray love as such in some expressions. Talmy's perspective on the matter could be illustrated as follows:

Figure 5. Talmy's perspective on the metaphorical-fictive relationship



Leaving these theoretical concerns slightly aside, it is to note that the problem often arises when it comes to analyzing Figure and Ground in fine-grained terms within the global spatial configuration of motion, as will be shown. Lakoffian metaphors, like TIME IS SPACE, no matter how attractive, may prove either too vague or insufficient. Examples of motion events in real language reveal that the different entities acting as Figure and Ground present disparate levels of concreteness and abstraction, among many other semantic differences. It is common agreement that most concrete entities, easily perceived through human senses, with neat borders and linguistically lexicalized as such require a lesser cognitive effort than more abstract ones and hence, will be interpreted as more factive or more veridical. Abstract entities, on the contrary, involving some sort of metaphorization, subjectivity and virtuality, will move away from this interpretation[10]. That is why, in an attempt to assess the factivity and fictivity of a determined event, Talmy came up with the idea of considering a perception-conception gradience that distinguished entities depending on some parameters. These parameters, which

[10] We will not insist on the idea that "metaphor is one important vehicle guiding the development and use of abstract concepts" (Jamrozik et *al.,* 2016: 1080).

are found to be of paramount importance for a further analysis of the Figures and Grounds, are widely discussed in the following section.

2.3.2. The perception-conception cline: the ception domain

Talmy traces a parallel between both linguistic and visual representations by considering the factive representation as the more palpable representation of an entity and the fictive one as the less palpable representation (Talmy, 2000a: 102). In an attempt to cover all the cognitive processes, conscious and unconscious, understood as part of perception and as part of conception/cognition, Talmy coined the term *ception* (2000a: 139). He established a ception framework by locating 13 different parameters that define the location of phenomena in a perception-conception cline. As 12 of the parameters largely correlated with the one that he termed palpability, the whole set was called palpability-related parameters (Talmy, 2000a: 140). The parameters are as follows: palpability, clarity, intensity, ostension, objectivity, localizability, content/structure, type-of-geometry, accesibility to consciousness, certainty, actionability, and stimulus dependence (Talmy, 2000a: 141-143). The following figure provides a brief definition of each one of the parameters:

Figure 6. Talmy's palpability-related parameters

Highest value in the perceptual end (fully concrete level)	**High value in the perceptual end (semiconcrete level)**	**Parameter**	**High value in the conceptual end (semiabstract level)**	**Highest value in the conceptual end (fully abstract level)**
The entity is experienced as being concrete, manifest, explicit, tangible and palpable.		Palpability		The entity is experienced as being abstract, unmanifest, implicit, intangible, and impalpable.
The entity is experienced as being clear, distinct, and definite.		Clarity		The entity is experienced ad being vague, indistinct, indefinite, or murky.
The entity is experienced as being intense or vivid[11].		Intensity		The entity is experienced as being faint or dull.

[11] Talmy himself states that this parameter is the only one of the 13 that "has an open-ended upper region, allowing increasingly greater degrees of intensity" (2000a: 174).

The entity stands out because of its overt substantive attributes in relation to any particular sensory modality[12].	Ostension	The entity does not stand out because of its overt substantive attributes in relation to any particular sensory modality.
The entity is experienced as being real, as having autonomous physical existence, and as having its own intrinsic characteristics.	Objectivity	The entity is experienced as being subjective, a cognitive construct, a product of one's own mental activity[13].
The entity does have a location, and this location occupies only a delimited portion of the whole spatial field. In addition, it can be determined, and is in fact known.	Localizability	The concept of location does not even apply to the ceived entity.
The entity can be easily recognized, assigned to a familiar category and equated with a familiar unique individual. It has therefore a known identity.	Identifiability	All the components regarding recognisability or familiarity in the entity are absent.
The assessments pertain to the substantive makeup of an entity. The content end can provide the comprehensive summary or Gestalt of the form's character.	Content (high end) vs. Structure (low end)	The assessments pertain to the schematic delineations of an entity. The structure end can reveal the global framework, pattern, or network of connections that binds the componennts of the form together and permits their integration into a unity.

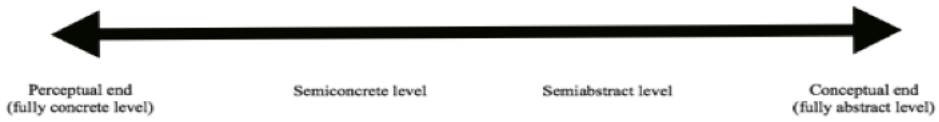
[12] Considering the visual modality, the ostension parameter encompasses the appearance and motion of a determined entity. More accurately, it comprises "its form, coloration, texturing, and pattern of movements" (Talmy, 2000a: 141). When it comes to the auditory modality or the taste modality, the parameter makes reference to the entity's overt sound qualities or its flavors, respectively (Talmy, 2000a: 142).

[13] Brandt justifies the existence of this parameter since he considers that the term fictive, in its current use, "is largely synonymous with 'conceptual'; if something is a mental construction it is said to be fictive" (2013: 190).

The content of an entity is (amenable to being) geometrically Euclidean, metrically quantitative, precise as to magnitude, form, movements, and so on, and absolute.	Type-of-geometry	The structure of an entitiy is (limited to being) geometrically topological or topology-like, qualitative or approximative, schematic, and relational or relativistic.
The entitity is in the center of consciousness or in the foreground of attention.	Accessibility to consciousness	The entity is regularly inaccessible to consciousness.
One has the experience of certainty about the occurrence and attributes of an entity.	Certainty	One experienced uncertainty about the entity—or, more actively, one experiences doubt about it.
One is able to direct oneself agentively with respect to an entity—for example, to inspect or manipulate the entity.	Actionability	One is only capable of receptive experience of the entity.
Sensory stimulation must be present for the experience to occur.	Stimulus dependence	Sensory stimulation is not required for the experience to occur.

Talmy claimed that it is also possible to contemplate most of these parameters in terms of a gradience, "with their highest value at the most clearly perceptual end of the ception domain and with their lowest value at the most clearly conceptual end of the domain" (Talmy, 2000a: 140), as can be illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 7. Palpability-related parameters in the ception cline



The author himself seems to question the validity of the set of proposed parameters to explain some phenomena: "One issue is whether the set of proposed parameters is exhaustive with respect to palpability and general fictivity (presumably not), and, conversely, whether the proposed parameters are all wholly appropriate to those phenomena" (Talmy, 2000a: 140-141).

That is why this dissertation attempts to examine whether it is possible to explain why an event falls into one or the other category by examining Talmy's palpability-related parameters in Figure and Ground.

2.3.3. Fictive motion typologies

Several tipologies of fictive motion constructions have been offered so far, although given the complexity of the issue under consideration, the classification itself and the explanation of particular types remain open to debate. Without claiming to be exhaustive, we will briefly refer to Matlock's, Langacker's and Talmy's proposals of typologies for fictive motion events.

Matlock proposed a categorization making a distinction between constructions that tolerate manner of motion verbs, such as *The highway crawls through the city* (2004a: 231), and constructions in which it is not possible to associate the trajector to any kind of motion, such as *The table goes from the kitchen to the sliding door* (Matlock, 2004a: 232). The author justifies this typology due to the high co-occurrence of the former expressions with manner-conflating verbs, which communicate the speed of motion in their literal uses (Matlock, 2000b: 1390), as in *The road runs along the river*. However, the manner verb does not provide information regarding the way the road moves, because the road actually does not move. Rather, it seems to convey information about "how motion could occur or is known to occur along a given path" (Matlock, 2000a: 231).

Langacker offered a categorization in terms of perfective and imperfective events. Let's contemplate the following examples to illustrate the phenomenon (2005: 175):

(6) The path is rising quickly as we climb [perfective]

(7) The path rises quickly near the top [imperfective]

Used perfectively, the verb *rise* in (6) indicates a change through time and the explicit participation of a person moving along a path. On the other hand, portraying the event as in (7) evokes a different image: "they do not in any salient way evoke a viewer moving along the path or depend on such a viewer to generate the change suggested by the motion verb" (Langacker, 2005: 176).

Nevertheless, the typology that enjoys the widest recognition in the field is the one offered by Talmy (2000a). According to the author, depending on the combination of some parameters, it is possible to classify fictive motion constructions in one of the following categories: "emanation paths", "pattern paths", "frame-relative motion", "advent paths", "access paths", and "coextension paths" (2000a: 103)[14].

Since the compiled corpus—based on the ten most frequent manner-conflating verbs in Conrad's *Heart of Darkness*—provides us with ocurrences of both the coextension path and the frame-relative motion categories, the following subsection offers a brief overview of these categories for a deeper understanding of the two phenomena.

2.3.3.1. Coextension path and frame-relative motion cases

In relation to the above-forementioned overlapping systems previously described by Talmy, namely attention, perception, language, etc., (2000a: 99), a large body of literature supports the hypothesis that people mentally simulate actions by imagining different scenes and taking a particular perspective (see Matlock, 2001, 2004a, 2004b). This is the particular case of the first case of fictive motion that is relevant for the purposes of this dissertation: coextension path cases. As Matlock noted,

> On this view, the conceptualizer (speaker or listener) takes a perspective in the scene and mentally simulates "movement" or "visual scanning" along the Figure. In that simulation, the Figure, often a path such as the road [...] or a linearly extended entity (e.g., table, as in *The table runs along the wall*), is conceptually primary and is construed relative to a landmark or set of landmarks in an imagined spatial scene (2004b: 1390)

The clear mental simulation these phenomena trigger has awakened the attention of some scholars (Rojo and Valenzuela, 2009: 244)[15]. This simulation is triggered, according to Matlock (2017, 480), since "in the absence of a mover, the language user subjectively 'moves' by

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[14] See Talmy (2000a: 105) to deepen on the parameters distinguishing categories of fictive motion.

[15] Some scholars, such as Jackendoff (2002), defend the inexistence of any simulated motion in cases of fictive motion. However, as Matsumoto insightfully suggests, it is impossible to explain the difference between the two following sentences from Langacker (2002: 157) "without appealing to the directionality of a motion of some sort" (1996b: 186): *This highway goes from Tijuana to Ensenada* and *This highway goes from Ensenada to Tijuana*. According to Langacker (2005: 168), "their semantic contrast resides exclusively in the conceptualizer's direction of mental scanning building up to a full apprehension of the spatial configuration".

simulating movement or visually scanning along some portion of the subject-noun phrase referent, for instance, momentarily imagining motion along the highway" (Matlock, 2017: 480). In this sense, a language user is equaled to a Conceptualizer, one who is mentally scanning or simulating motion along a determined path and whose role is required to comprehend such a sentence (Matlock, 2004a: 224).

For cases of coextension path, Talmy states that the factive representation concerns the stationary representation of the object and "the absence of any entity traversing the depicted path", whereas the fictive representation triggers the conceptualization "of some entity moving along or over the configuration of the object" (Talmy, 2000a: 138)[16]. The author also claims that the fact of fictively representing stationary phenomena as moving entities (fictive motion) with a higher tendency than representing moving phenomena as stationary (fictive stationariness) leads us to state that we have a cognitive bias toward dynamism (Talmy, 2000a: 171).

The second category of fictive motion that falls within the scope of research concerns intances in which there is a factive movement between a non-moving entity that is fictively moving—the Observed—relative to a second entity—the Observer—that is fictively stationary. Consider the following examples:

(9) I rode along in the car and looked at the scenery we were passing through.

(10) I sat in the car and watched the scenery rush past me.

As observed, language allows the possibility of referring to a factively conceptualized Observer moving relative to a stationary Ground, as illustrated in (9). However, frame-relative cases, as (10), are particularly interesting ocurrences of fictive motion in that the scenery presented in the scene is "fictively treated as moving toward the observer" whereas the "observer herself is fictively treated as stationary" (Talmy, 2000a: 169). In other words, whereas occurrence (9) renders a factively moving Observer in the conceptualization, a change in the linguistic

[16] Of note here to deepen in the matter is Matlock's (2004a: 230) example, *The river runs from the ocean to the mountain top*. This event portrays both factive and fictive motion in that there is an entity with inherent motion that flows in a downward direction, but also a scanning proceeding in the other direction.

formulation depicts the Observer as fictively stationary in (10). Interestingly, if in cases of coextension path cases, we could talk about a cognitive bias towards dynamism, here is the reverse: although the normal phenomenon in human beings is fictively endowing entities with motion, these examples “can be understood as a form of cognitive staticism" (Talmy, 2000a: 171).

Once acquainted with the two most relevant categories of fictive motion for this dissertation, the last section of the research attempts to provide a compilation of information extracted from the disperse body of literature concerning Figures and Grounds.

2.4. The characterization of Figures and Grounds: a dearth of research

This section comprises a brief compilation of information regarding Figures and Grounds. As mentioned in the introduction, the qualification of these two compulsory elements of the motion schema (Aske, 1989: 1) has been so far usually subordinated to the description of the motion event at a higher level. In other words, most of the efforts to catalogue and explain motion events seem to have focused instead on other components, as Path or the co-event Manner.

The most basic definition of Figure is that of an entity that moves relative to a Ground. From this starting point, the literature has provided us with a wide array of examples of factively moving entities, such as human beings or rivers and some factively stationary entities, usually objects, most of them exhibiting concrete shapes, as in cases of fictive motion with mental simulation: tables, roads. A special case of Figures in fictive motion events has also been discussed, namely that represented by a factively stationary entity, as in the *the trees moved past* us. Alongside, some factively moving entities, such as sticks, have been further described, in as far as they constitute special cases requiring a source of motion. That is, in cases such as *The sticks were flying about*, Figure and Agent do not converge. And when discussing telic events, we are also informed that the Figure is endowed with the capacity of crossing a boundary.

As may be inferred from the previous paragraph, information is not only scattered, but clearly insufficient. And moreover, it mostly refers to Figures of a notable concrete nature. Very little is explained on entities with a higher level of abstraction, requiring a greater cognitive effort, as in *The warning came while he was eating*.

Something similar occurs with the Ground component. In some scholarly discussions on telicity[17] and the lexicalization of Path, the Ground has been qualified as an entity susceptible to be crossed, be it either a goal / endpoint or a container / enclosure (Narasimhan (2003: 136; Talmy, 2000b: 53-56)[18]. Also, we know that this component need not necessarily be an inanimated entity, as in *The news came to me*. And last, the Ground seems to be the least explicitly expressed and most implicitly inferred component in motion schemas involving manner-conflating verbs. In other words, there is a tendency for language speakers to omit the element[19], though if there is not enough contextual information, the Conceptualizer will fail to infer information about the configuration, location, or shape of the trajector (or Figure), because of the inexistence of something that relates to it (Matlock, 2004a: 227). In this respect, it is to note that the path component must be explicit in fictive motion events, as noted by Matsumoto (1996b: 195).

Given the previous characterization, the problem arises when either the Figure or the Ground requires a high level of cognitive effort to be conceptualized. When they are not physical entities; when abstraction and metaphor are involved. *Christmas is coming* may represent a first level of difficulty, but it is far from the complexity involved in longer and more subtle structures found in literary discourse. In literature metaphors and entities with a high level of abstraction abound acting as either or both Figure and Ground. And moreover, the pervasive existence of intricate noun phrases like *I crossed the threshold of the invisible,* which combine concrete heads with abstract postmodifying entities, seem to make it worth a more detailed consideration of the issue[20].

All in all, the theoretical foundations of the dissertation have attempted to provide a fine-grained overview of the field of motion events. Most of the scholars have devoted their efforts to deepen in the factive-fictive divide by examining the degree of veridicality of the event as a

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[17] See Sections 2.1. and 2.2.

[18] When describing the path component, Talmy makes use of the Vector and Conformation distinction to examine how this difference of conceptualization - as either an enclosure or just a goal - is regarded across languages.

[19] Note that when a path-conflating verb is selected, there is no need to introduce adpositional or adverbial phrases, as in *The road begins to ascend*.

[20] I would like to thank Dr. Paloma Tejada Caller since her expertise and insights on the idiosyncratic/particular English patterns for quantifying abstract, indivisible and/or uncontable entities helped me consider both head and modifier for the analysis.

global frame. The approach used in this dissertation attempts to shed some light in the importance of Figure and Ground by examining their levels of veridicality through Talmy's palpability-related parameters.

3. Corpus study: Research questions and hypotheses

As previously stated in the introduction, the aim of this research is twofold: first, to explore the interaction between the semantic qualities of important components of the spatial configuration, namely Figure and Ground, in Joseph Conrad's short novel *Heart of Darkness*; second, to verify whether Talmy's proposed palpability-related parameters are appropriate to determine a factive or a fictive reading of the event. For these two objectives to be accomplished, the following research questions were drawn:

1) To what extent does the interaction between the palpability-related parameters of Figure and Ground determine the way an event is experienced as factive or fictive?

2) What constitutes the prevailing pattern in Conrad's novel, according to 1? Does literature exhibit a high degree of motion fictivity?

Concerning the first research question, this dissertation hypothesizes that the relationship between the levels of palpability in Figure and Ground determines in most of the cases whether the event has a factive or a fictive reading.

When it comes to the second research question, it is hypothesized that both components, Figure and Ground, are allowed to present a high level of abstraction in literary discourse. In other words, entities scoring low in Talmy's palpability-related parameters are expected since literature and, more precisely, authors' creative urge triggers linguistic combinations whereby words exhibiting diverse levels of concreteness and abstractness are arranged together into sharp-witted phrase structures. Of interest here is the fact that literature is an overlooked—almost untested—field for the study of motion events from a linguistic perspective, so it is a speech domain that could provide a different perspective other than the one offered by the study of sentences in isolation.

4. Methodological issues

This section of the dissertation is concerned with the description and justification of the corpus, and with the methodology conducted to collect samples of motion evens. In order to determine whether there is a relationship between Talmy's palpability-related parameters in Figure and Ground, and how they are experienced as either factive or fictive, it was decided that the best method to adopt for this investigation was a) to use a monolingual corpus of English literary examples; b) to assign palpability-related parameters to every Figure and Ground taking place in the occurrences under study; c) to establish 4 categories in which Figures and Grounds can be grouped. As this is a tentative approach, the parameters are analyzed by using *yes/no* binary values.

4.1. Corpus description

Data under investigation were restricted to Joseph Conrad's novel *Heart of Darkness*, from now on referred to as HEART_EN. Instances in the compilation were drawn through Project Gutenberg webpage, which provides open access to Conrad's text.

There is a twofold motivation underlying the election of both author and work. First, Joseph Conrad's contribution to literature is undeniable, to the extent of being considered one of the greatest novelists in the tradition of English authors and comparable to other great Figures of the time, such as Jane Austen, George Eliot or Henry James (Leavis, 1948). Some titles, such as *Nostromo*, *Lord Jim*, *Heart of Darkness* or *Victory*, may sound familiar to almost any reader, not only to those who dared to dive into the rich immensity of English literature. It is also true that the reader may find the author's style somehow challenging and tricky. As put in H.G. Wells' (1896) unsigned review on Joseph Conrad's second novel *An Outcast of the Islands:*

> His [Conrad's] style is like river-mist; for a space things are seen clearly, and then comes a great grey bank of printed matter, page on page, creeping round the reader, swallowing him up. You stumble, you protest, you blunder on, for the drama you saw so cursorily has hold of you; you cannot escape until you have seen it out. You read fast, you run and jump, only to bring yourself to the knees in such mud as will presently be quoted. Then suddenly things loom up again, and in a moment become real, intense, swift (Sherry, 1997: 56).

As regards the selection of the novel for the corpus, *Heart of Darkness*, it was thought that, presumably, the colonization of Africa from a seaman's perspective could provide, in principle,

a suitable setting for motion constructions. Throughout 40.000 words that compose the novel, the author makes use of different scenarios to depict a journey whose point of departure is the Thames and whose final destination is the Congo River[21]. Therefore, disparate manifestations of nature as agents of motion are expected, such as rivers, currents or the wind. Furthermore, since the exploration of the inherent darkness of human nature is a crucial topic in the novel, some motion constructions with abstract Figures and Grounds are also likely to occur. Indeed, some highly abstract entities, such as gloom or brooding, come up six or seven times each for early in the story, in just the first four pages, and, as the story unfolds, the same words along with some variants appear consistently in reference to the natural environment.

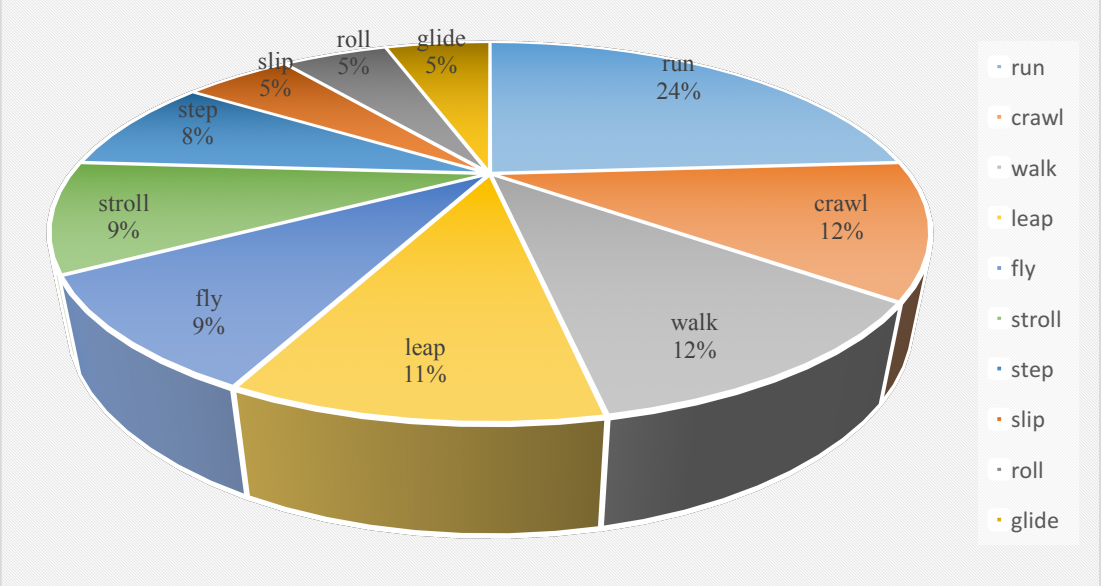
4.2. Procedure for data analysis

This study made use of the software AntConc (Version 3.4.4.m) in order to obtain quantitative information from the corpus. In a first step, the most frequent motion verbs of the novel were identified by using the function WordList of the software tool (see Appendix 9.1.).

The second step of the procedure consisted of the selection of the verbs for the analysis. In order to have some occurrences of Talmy's categories of fictive motion, namely coextension path and frame-relative motion cases, the ten most frequent manner-conflating verbs were selected for the analysis. The verbs, along with the number of occurrences taken into consideration in brackets, are as follows: *run* (23), *crawl* (11), *walk* (11), *leap* (10), *fly* (9), *stroll* (9), *step* (8), *roll* (5), *slip* (5) and *glide* (5). As observed, following Slobin's distinction of manner-conflating verbs (1997: 459), some of the verbs under study would fall into the first tier, namely *run*, *walk*, *fly* and probably *roll*, and the remaining verbs—*crawl, leap, stroll, step, slip* and *glide*—could be placed onto the second tier, a more elaborated category in comparison to the first one. The following figure represents the 96 occurrences of the corpus:

[21] Conrad's representation of landscape is found to be a widely discussed and researched topic in the existing body of literature (see for example McClintock, 1984; Sullivan, 1981). Some scholars, such as Sullivan, claim that the journey described in *Heart of Darkness* portrays a metaphoric landscape consisting of comparing the different stages of the adventure with the body of a snake (1981: 59). Conrad is a master of depicting the setting as if it were an additional character of the novel.

Figure 8. Ten most frequent manner-conflating verbs in *Heart of Darkness*



Those few manner-conflating verbs showing an infrequent transitive use were ruled out for the purposes of the dissertation. All the occurrences were labelled and noted manually for a later analysis of the Figures and Grounds (see Appendix 9.3.-9.12.). Of note here is that the same event was analyzed in more than one way if exhibiting the following conditions: a) there were more than one Figure or Ground in the event; b) the two Figures or Grounds presented different scores in the palpability-related parameters selected. It was therefore decided to analyze these cases as independent instantiations, thus making a total of 100 instantiations. Once having isolated every single instantiation of motion event with these ten verbs, it was possible to proceed to the third stage of the procedure: to carefully select some of Talmy's palpability-related parameters and to assign, in a further step, yes/no values to these different parameters for every single Figure and Ground. In this way, seven out of the thirteen palpability-related parameters provided by Talmy were taken into consideration: *palpability, clarity, intensity, ostension, objectivity, type-of-geometry and actionability* (2000a: 141-143). The other six parameters—*localizability, identifiability, content vs. structure, accessibility to consciousness* and *certainty*—were ruled out given the limitations of this exploratory study. As stated, yes/no values were assigned to Figures and Grounds of the events depending on whether the entities fulfilled the requirements of the following criteria:

Table 1. Palpability-related parameters selected

	***Yes* value**	***No* value**
Palpability	The entity is perceived as concrete and tangible.	The entity is abstract and intangible.
Clarity	The entity is experienced as being definite, delineated.	The entity is not susceptible to be delineated.
Intensity	The entity is experienced as being lively and intense.	The entity is not experienced as being lively and intense.
Ostension	The entity stands out because of its attributes in relation to a particular sensory modality. In the visual modality, the entity is animated and the motion is volitional. In the auditory modality, the entity stands out because of its sound qualities (Talmy, 2000a: 141-142).	The entity does not stand out because of its overt substantive attributes in relation to any particular sensory modality.
Objectivity	The entity is known to have an autonomous physical existence and is experienced as being real.	The entity is conceptualized as a cognitive construct, a product of one's own activity.
Type-of-geometry	The content of an entity is geometrically Euclidean, precise, almost perfect, metrically quantitative	The structure of an entity is geometrically topological or topology-like, that is, subjective and/or imperfect, qualitative or approximative, schematic.
Actionability	The entity is potentially possible to be addressed and manipulated.	The entity cannot be addressed and/or manipulated.

Crucial to the fully understandment of the dissertation is to comprehend that the analysis of the Figures and Grounds was based on the entities designed by the words of the author, and not on the actual referent of the word. Consider the following example:

> (11) For me **it [the stream]** crawled towards **Kurtz**—exclusively; (...) [HEART_EN_30]

Occurrence (11) portrays a scene in which a human being is conceptualized as a Ground, even though, through metaphorical or metonymical processing we are able to infer that the actual

Ground is the location occupied by the entity. A distinction between two stages of interpretation is therefore required. First, the immediate context provides us with the information regarding the way the author wants us to conceptualize the scene. At this point, authors tend to play with a plethora of metaphors and metonymical relationships to alter the normal way of expression. In a second stage, the distal context allows us for the decoding of the actual referent. The research aims at examining the Figures and Grounds depicted in the immediate context in order to verify if that first stage of conceptualization is enough to determine the veridicality of an event. In order to do that, it was necessary to create a categorization for the Figures and Grounds. To carry out this task, the following categories were offered: a) perceptual entities, that is, entities scoring from 6 to 7 in the palpability-related parameters selected; b) semiperceptual entities if scoring from 4 to 5; c) semiconceptual entities if scoring from 2 to 3; d) conceptual entities that account for cases having either one or none of the parameters.

The following section concerns a detailed overview of the results obtained after the analysis. A further interpretation and discussion of them is offered in the sixth section.

5. Results

Prior to commencing with the presentation of the results, it is important to recall that the object of study of this dissertation concerns the occurrences with the ten most frequent manner-conflating motion verbs in literary discourse because of the following: first, these verbs are the most salient of English lexicon, if considering Talmy's binary typology (Talmy, 2000b: 27); and second, fictive motion has shown to occur with manner of motion verbs with a high frequency (Matlock, 2004b: 1390).

The results were grouped, in a first stage, depending on the quantity of parameters they fulfilled. Out of the 100 occurrences, there were 12 instantiations that fall into a more specific fictive construction, and whose fictive reading cannot be explained through the analysis of just two components of the motion schema. Therefore, it was decided to rule out these occurrences from the main analysis and to examine them using a different approach. The following table illustrates the categorization of Figures and Grounds provided according to the parameters selected:

Table 2. Figures and Grounds grouped according to palpability-related parameters

	Figures		**Grounds**	
	Nº of items	% of the total	Nº of items	% of the total
7 parameters	58	65.9%	6	6.8%
6 parameters	17	19.3%	27	30.7%
5 parameters	8	9.2%	41	46.7%
4 parameters	1	1.1%	5	5.7%
3 parameters	1	1.1%	1	1.1%
2 parameters	0	0%	4	4.5%
1 parameter	2	2.3%	4	4.5%
0 parameters	1	1.1%	0	0%
	88	100%	88	100%

Not surprisingly, more than the half of the occurrences under study depicted an event with a Figure scoring really high in the palpability-related parameters selected. Most of the entities acting as Figure were concrete and animate entities, able to volitionally move on their own, such as human beings or animals. Next on the list are entities whose volitional movement can be questioned, such as rivers or currents. On the flip side, the least prototypical Figures have shown to be entities scoring really low in the palpability-related parameters. In other terms, some few cases depicted highly abstract and inanimate entities as Figures, unable to move, but conceptualized as moving entities.

It is important to remark that most of the Grounds were not explicitly described in the event, that is, contextual information was needed in order to infer the Ground through which the Figure was supposed to be moving. Surprisingly, this was true for 49 of the 100 occurrences, that is, almost the half of the occurrences in the corpus. As stated, immediate contextual information provided clues about the plaussible properties of the Grounds, most of them being physical entities scoring from 5 to 6 in the palpability-related parameters, such as rooms, shores, the deck of the steamer or the forest. The lower we move on the list of parameters, the more we can question the veridicality of the event. As explained in the analysis section below, this might be due to the following reasons: either because the movement is physical but uncertain or because the movement is produced in the temporal dimension.

Pivotal to determine whether an event is experienced as factive or fictive is to examine the interaction of both components on the basis of the examples under scrutiny:

Table 3. Combinations of Figure and Ground depending on the palpability-related parameters

	Perceptual Figure	Semiperceptual Figure	Semiconceptual Figure	Conceptual Figure
Perceptual Ground	29	3	0	1
Semiperceptual Ground	41	4	1	1
Semiconceptual Ground	2	1	0	1
Conceptual Ground	4	0	0	0

As can be observed, the results show interactions between Figures and Grounds with same and disparate scores in the palpability-related parameters. Throughout the following section, we deal with these interactions in order to crystallize what makes an event factive or fictive.

6. Data analysis

This section provides a fine-grained discussion on the main findings. At this point, we aim at defining factive and fictive motion events basing on the interaction between Figure and Ground. Moreover, special cases of fictive motion were also thoroughly discussed in an independent subsection.

6.1. Combinations with perceptual Figures

The first combination under examination concerns a perceptual Figure and a perceptual Ground, that is, entities with a high degree of veridicality. In these cases, the motion performed in the scene is hardly questionable, thus being conceptualized as factive. Let's see some examples of the corpus:

> (12) (...), like **a sluggish beetle** crawling on **the floor of a lofty portico** [HEART_EN_27]
>
> (13) (...) before **the ebb** began to run, (...) [Ground: the waterway] [HEART_EN_11]
>
> (14) Imagine the feelings of **a commander of a fine** - what d'ye call 'em? - **trireme in the Mediterranean**, ordered suddenly to the north; run overland across **the Gauls** in a hurry; (...) [HEART_EN_10]

As stated, the level of veridicality of these Figures and Grounds is high and therefore it is expected to be a factive event. This was true in 96.5% of the occurrences of this combination, independently of the fact of presenting an explicit (12) or implicit (13) Ground or referring to other entitities through metonymical relationships (14). The latter example is interesting in that a second stage in the decoding of information is needed in order not to interpret the Ground literally. However, the reading of the event remains factive since we are moving from a perceptual entity (the Gauls) to a semiperceptual entity (the location of the Gauls, which is inferred as physical).

Despite being a marginal case, there is only one occurrence of this combination having both factive Figure and Ground but considered fictive—or at least fictive-like—is worth commenting:

> (15) You can't understand. How could **you**?—with solid pavement under your feet, surrounded by kind neighbours ready to cheer you or to fall on you, stepping delicately between **the butcher and the policeman**, in the holy terror of scandal and gallows and lunatic asylums (...)

Following the above reasoning, in a second stage of information decoding, it would be possible to infer that the author makes reference to the normal locations of both a real butcher and a real policeman. However, thanks to contextual information, we can infer a higher degree of abstraction in that these entities are introduced as stereotypes and refer to the salient qualities or notions underlying the corresponding nouns. In this very case, the butcher and the policeman represent the terrors inspired by the city of London and they are used in comparison to the terrors that the heart of Africa offers.

The next combination under examination is that of a perceptual Figure and a semiperceptual Ground. In this interaction, most of the occurrences portrayed a factive event, even though there were cases in which the high level of veridicality in Figures and Grounds involved in the event could be more questioned than in previous cases. Interestingly, only 11 of the 41 occurrences depicted an event with an explicit Ground. Consider the following occurrences:

> (16) (...) and then I saw this station, these men strolling aimlessly about in **the sunshine of the yard** [HEART_EN_74]

> (17) (...); but no sooner within that it seemed to me I had stepped into **the gloomy circle of some Inferno** [HEART_EN_78]

Both occurrences portray a Ground composed by a complex noun phrase. In the case of (16), the head, *the sunshine*, is represented as a space, as it could have some sort of geometry. Occurrence (17) depicts a delimited Ground in that the geometry is explicitly expressed. However, the semantic load that the adjective *gloomy* adds to the Ground implies a distorted perception, requiring thus a higher cognitive effort. In addition to these examples, there were other two occurrences that are worth commenting to show how the author's creative urge seems to blossom at this level:

> (18) (...); No! It is his extremity that I seem to have lived through. True, he had made that last stride, **he** had stepped over **the edge**, while I had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot [HEART_EN_82]
>
> (19) **The long shadows of the forest** had slipped **downhill** while we talked, (...) [HEART_EN_92][22]
>
> (20) **I** flew around like mad to get ready, and before forty-eigth hours I was crossing the Channel to show myself to my employers, and sign the contract [Ground: the village] [HEART_EN_58]

In the case of (18), the author seems to play with the twofold interpretation of relevant words by making use of the TIME IS SPACE conceptual metaphor. Since space is the source domain, it is expected to be, presumably, the domain inferred at a first stage of interpretation, within what has been called the immediate context. However, a second mental operation is needed to verify whether the dimension of the event is either spatial or temporal. When it comes to (19), the problem lies in the interpretation of the Figure. Independently of the referent, the shadows can arguably be perceived as moving physically through space. Examples like this clearly indicate that the veridicality of the Ground plays a remarkable role to determine whether the event is experienced as factive or fictive. Occurrence (20) does not present any problem when it comes to the levels of veridicality of both Figure and Ground. Indeed, the spatial dimension of the event is taken for granted. However, the veridicality of the verb strikes us in that the lexical choice cannot be interpreted literally since human beings are not endowed with the ability of flying. All in all, out of the 41 occurrences of this combination, 37 were clearly factive, that is, more than the 90% of the occurrences. There were three occurrences that can be interpreted in

[22] I would like to thank Leonard Talmy for the valuable feedback he personally provided me in relation to some complex examples.

a more factive or fictive way depending on the conceptualization, the ones illustrated in (18) - (20), and only one fictive event:

> (21) I was learning to clap my teeth smartly before **my heart** flew out, (...) [Ground: space out of the body] [HEART_EN_59]

The case displayed above is an example of an interaction between entities scoring high in the palpability-related parameters selected that leads to a fictive reading of the event. This might be due to the following reasons: a) the verb choice, which expresses an action difficult to be performed by animate, moving entities, let alone by a heart; b) the metaphorical / metonymical interpretation of heart as life and of eternal life as soul; and the shared cultural imagery of souls flying away from physical existence.

The following combination concerns a perceptual Figure and a semiconceptual Ground. There were only two occurrences in this category:

> (22) **The brown current** ran swiftly out of **the heart of darkness**, bearing us down towards the sea with the speed of our upward progress; (...) [HEART_EN_09]
>
> (23) My purpose was to stroll into **the shade** for a moment; (...) [Figure: human being] [HEART_EN_67]

These two occurrences portray an event in which the Grounds, both conceptualized as enclosures, are depicted with a high level of abstraction. In occurrence (22) there is a common pattern in English language when it comes to complex noun phrases. It seems that there is a tendency in the language to use a noun as head of the phrase to delimit and concrete the abstract properties of a second noun that functions as a postmodifier[23]. However, even if this complex Ground requires a higher degree of cognitive effort, we still contemplate the event as factive. But why?

One of the striking findings of this research is the distinction between two levels of inference. In this research, Figure and Ground have been analyzed following the properties of the entities depicted in the scene, that is, as inferred through immediate context. A second level of inference

[23] Following Huddleston and Pullum (2005: 98, as cited in Matesanz, 2017: 17), these structures could be marginal examples of "a noun phrase consisting of a partitive, specifying a part, followed by the preposition of and a noun, denoting the whole".

in the Figures and Grounds is crucial to determine whether the event will have either a factive or a fictive reading. That is why we are able to comprehend that *the heart of darkness* is just an abstract way of referring to Africa. Occurrence (23) undeniable portrays a factive event in that the motion of the Figure through the spatial dimension is taken for granted.

Finally, let's contemplate the interaction between a perceptual Figure and a conceptual Ground. Out of the four occurrences in the whole corpus, three are analyzed to have a fictive reading:

> (24) I let **him** run on, this (...) [Figure: the brickmaker] [Ground: the speech] [HEART_EN_12]
>
> (25) "(...) Yes - I let **him** run on," Marlon began again, (...) [Figure: the brickmaker] [Ground: the speech] [HEART_EN_13]
>
> (26) (...); perhaps all the wisdom, and all truth, and all sincerity, are just compressed into that inappreciable moment of time in which **we** step over **the threshold of the invisible** [HEART_EN_76]

The first two occurrences mentioned above, (24) and (25), make reference to the temporal dimension of the brickmaker's speech. Interesting is, however, the verb choice, which seems to refer to the high tempo of the speech. Occurrence (26) portrays an entity through the syntactic combination between a concrete head and an abstract postmodifying entity as a Ground. The challenge with this kind of complex Grounds lies in the assignment of parameters. However, a second stage of interpretation is pivotal to determine the actual referent of the Ground. Through distal context we comprehend that the motion is taking place in the temporal dimension, and not in the spatial one. The reverse phenomenon may occur in the marginal case in this category:

> (27) I put down the glass, and **the head that had appeared near enough to be spoken to** seemed at once to have leaped away from me **into inaccessible distance** [HEART_EN_54]

Interestingly, occurrence (27) portrays a Figure that may be interpreted as a human being through metonymical relationships and a highly abstract Ground. When it comes to the latter component, the term *distance* is relatively abstract, but it is the adjective that clearly determines a higher degree of abstraction in the entity. It was expected that a higher degree of abstraction in the Ground would determine a higher degree of fictivity in the event. However, this very example helps refute that hypothesis in that we as speakers know that there is an actual

movement in the event, even though it requires such a cognitive effort that we cannot conceptualize the limits between the accessible and the inaccessible.

All in all, this section has attempted to give an account of all the plausible combinations having a perceptual Figure. Out of the 76 occurrences having a perceptual Figure, only five have been found to be fictive, that is, 6.5% of the examples in this category. The fictive reading, in these occurrences, was considered through the first stage of interpretation in the case of (24) and (25) or through a second stage in the cases of (15), (21) and (26). In other words, there were some events whose fictive reading could not be contemplated by examining the palpability-related parameters of the Figure and Ground. Also, there were three examples, (18) - (20), which could have a fictive reading or, at least, a less factive reading. However, it is important to remark that more than 90% of events having a perceptual Figure have led to a factive reading.

6.2. Combinations with semiperceptual Figures

We now turn to the analysis of the interaction between semiperceptual Figures and the different categories of Grounds provided. There was a total of eight occurrences in the whole corpus: three interacting with a perceptual Ground (37.5%), four interacting with a semiperceptual Ground (50%) and one interacting with a semiconceptual Ground (12.5%). Interestingly, none of the occurrences of the whole corpus portrayed a semiperceptual Figure and a conceptual Ground, being that perhaps the reason why almost all the occurrences under examination are experienced as factive. Let's start with the interaction between a semiperceptual Figure and a perceptual Ground:

> (28) Here and there greyish-whitish specks showed up clustered inside the white surf, with **a flag** flying above **them** perhaps [Ground: someone's location] [HEART_EN_63]
>
> (29) **Sticks, little sticks**, were flying about—thick: they were whizzing before **my nose**, (...) [Ground: someone's location] [HEART_EN_65]

In each of the occurrences shown above, the Figures are entities unable to move on their own. However, they physically move through the spatial dimension, but not in a volitional way. As previously stated, the Figure is that component of the motion schema that moves in relation to a Ground, but there can be another entity, the Agent, which is in charge of moving the entity. Manifestations of nature, such as rivers or the wind, are typical agents of the motion in Conrad's works, and *Heart of Darkness* was not going to be an exception, as portrayed in (29). Having

an agent other than the Figure also occurs in two occurrences concerning both a semiperceptual Figure and Ground:

> (30) I ordered the chain, which we had begun to heave in, to be paid out again. Before **it** stopped running with a muffled rattle, a cry, a very loud cry, as of infinite desolation, soared slowly in the opaque air [Figure: the chain] [Ground: the shore] [HEART_EN_19]

> (31) The twigs shook, swayed, and rustled, **the arrows** flew out of **them**, and then the shutter came to [Ground: the twigs] [HEART_EN_60]

In the case of (30), a human agent is manipulating the chain so that it can be moved and in (31) it is again the human agency what causes the arrows to be moved relative to the location of the twigs. Undeniably, the motion takes place in the spatial dimension, being both events considered as factive. Surprisingly, there is only one fictive event in this combination:

> (32) (...), with a wistfull of tone that made **my blood** run cold [Ground: veins and arteries] [HEART_EN_17]

As previously stated, both Figure and Ground in (31) were analyzed as semiperceptual. The *blood* scored yes in all the parameters but in the *type-of-geometry* and in the *ostension* ones, although it could be argued that the entity is somewhat more animate than the Ground. This last component had to be inferred. In the assignment of parameters, it was taken into consideration that the veins and arteries are not either animate or portray a volitional behaviour. Furthermore, it is omitted and there is no information regarding additional qualities of the Ground; for these reasons, it falls neither in the *intensity* nor in the *ostension* parameters. The fictive reading in the occurrence is caused by other factors than Figure and Ground. The combination of a metonymical relationship, the semantic features of the manner-conflating verb *run* or perhaps the adjective *cold* may trigger the fictive reading. The blood may actually be said to run, but even in the immediate context the blood cannot run cold. This depends on a metaphorical interpretation. Alongside, blood is used here as a metaphor for life, which implies a further level of cognitive complexity and, therefore, of virtuality and subjectivity.

As regards the last interaction of this section under examination, semiperceptual Figure and semiconceptual Ground, only one instantiation was found:

> (33) **Rivets** had rolled into **the grove of death** [HEART_EN_85]

Again in (33) we can contemplate the English tendency to delimit abstract entities through a more concrete one, as observed in the Ground. A grove may be said to be a clearly perceived entity. However, this is a grove qualified not just by the dead, but by the abstraction of death. The distal context leads us to interpret that no matter which agent caused the movement of the rivets or how high the degree of abstraction of the Ground is, the event is considered factive since *the grove of death* is a physical location, susceptible to be perceived and even traversed through the spatial dimension.

Out of the eight ocurrences under examination in this category, there was only one fictive (32) after applying the second stage of interpretation, that is, 12.5% of the total of results regarding combinations with semiperceptual Figures.

6.3. Combinations with semiconceptual Figures

This subsection gives account for cases portraying a semiconceptual Figure, that is, an entity scoring relatively low in the palpability-related parameters that moves in relation to a Ground of whatever kind. In this case, there was only one occurrence in the corpus:

> (35) **The flame** had leaped high, driven everybody back, lighted up everything—and collapsed. [Ground: a physical ground] [HEART_EN_47]

Occurrence (35) portrays a scene with a semiconceptual Figure, with unclear levels of concreteness or animacy of the Figure, occurring against a physical Ground. Even in this case, we can certainly contend that the event has a factive reading since the event takes place in the spatial dimension.

6.4. Combinations with conceptual Figures

As regards the combinations with conceptual Figures, there were three occurrences in the whole corpus, all of them being considered fictive: one interacting with a perceptual Ground (36), one interacting with a semiperceptual Ground (37) and one interacting with a semiconceptual Ground (38):

> (36) (...); and **Kurtz's life** was running swiftly, too, ebbing, ebbing out of **his heart** into the sea of inexorable time [HEART_EN_22]

> (37) (...); and **Kurtz's life** was running swiftly, too, ebbing, ebbing out of his heart into **the sea of inexorable time [HEART_EN_23]**

(38) **In the immutability of their surroundings** the foreign shores, the foreign faces, **the changing immensity of life,** glide past, veiled not by a sense of mystery but by a slightly disdainful ignorance; (...) [HEART_EN_96]

Instantiation (36) illustrates an example where there is a perceptual Ground and a fictive reading in the event. The veridicality of the event is easily questioned once Conrad attempts to apply the spatial dimension with a highly abstract entity as is life. This is even more conspicuous in (37) when he turns to the temporal dimension in the Ground by portraying it as an enclosure or container in *the sea of inexorable time*. The most abstract Figure in the corpus is found in (38). It is observed that, regardless of the Ground, the Figure depicted, *the changing immensity of life*, involves a high level of cumulative abstraction as coded in the combination of the structurign words: *changing, inmensity* and *life*. And moreover, the interpretation would always imply motion in the virtual and subjective temporal dimension.

All in all, these subsections have attempted to discuss some remarking issues regarding factivity and fictivity. It gives the impression that, when it comes to conceptual entities acting as Figure, it is easier to determine the lower level of veridicality of the event. As regards perceptual and semiperceptual entities as Figures, more attention had to been paid to the Ground in that a greater cognitive effort is required to identify the actual referent of the Ground. The last subsection of the dissertation concerns other cases of fictive motion that require further examination.

6.5. Special cases of fictive motion in the corpus

This last subsection of the analysis accounts for fictive motion cases whose fictivity could not be determined by examining the palpability-related parameters selected for the analysis. Prior to commencing with a fine-grained discussion of the instantiations, let's illustrate the properties of Figure and Ground to identify the entities that take part of the event:

Table 4. Combination of Figure and Ground in special cases of fictive motion in the corpus

	Perceptual Figure	Semiperceptual Figure	Semiconceptual Figure	Conceptual Figure
Perceptual Ground	4	0	1	0
Semiperceptual Ground	2	2	0	0
Semiconceptual Ground	2	0	0	0

Conceptual Ground	1	0	0	0

What is noteworthy from a linguistic standpoint is the fact that there are hardly semiconceptual and conceptual entities in these special cases of fictive motion. First, let's examine the cases that would fall into Talmy's coextension path category by using Matlock's distinction between Type 1 and Type 2 coextension path cases. Whereas the former implies entities that are often traversable as Figures and long, this pattern does not take place in the latter, which normally portrays entities that can be short or long (2017: 483). To illustrate, consider the following occurrences of Type 1 coextension path cases found in the corpus:

> (39) A haze rested on **the low shores** that ran out to **sea** in vanishing flatness [HEART_EN_01]
>
> (40) **The edge of a colossal jungle, so dark-green as to be almost black, fringed with white surf,** ran straight, like a ruled line, far, far away along **a blue sea whose glitter was blurred by a creeping mist** [HEART_EN_02]
>
> (41) **The long stretches of the waterway** ran on, deserted, into **the gloom of overshadowed distances** [HEART_EN_04]

First, as can be observed in the three occurrences displayed above, they are coincidental in terms of verb choice. As stated elsewhere in the dissertation, the verb selected in the event, in this case, *run*, is one portraying information regarding how a human being could move along the path expressed in the Figure. Focusing on the two first examples, we could argue that neither *the low shores* nor *the edge of a colossal jungle* are entities endowed with the ability of factively moving through the spatial dimension, since they are stationary. There is, however, a plausible fictive reading of the event. In the conventional literature, these examples are explained through the presence of a new component in the schema: the Conceptualizer (also known as language user). This language user mentally simulates motion along some portion of the Figure towards a goal. Even if it requires a greater cognitive effort in comparison to factive motion, we as human beings are able to mentally track the path in our minds. However, what if the goal is not a concrete or perceptual entity, but a highly abstract or conceptual one, as the depicted in (41)? Even if we know that *the gloom of overshadowed distances* is a physical Ground, it seems that there is a moment in the scanning in which the mental simulation is hampered—if not impeded—due to the low scores of the Ground in the palpability-related parameters. There is no doubt that this finding is of particular relevance in that it paves the way to the study of fictive motion events by examining other aspects, such as the time in cognitively processing the mental

configuration of the whole event, if possible. The following occurrence is also a conspicuous example to comment:

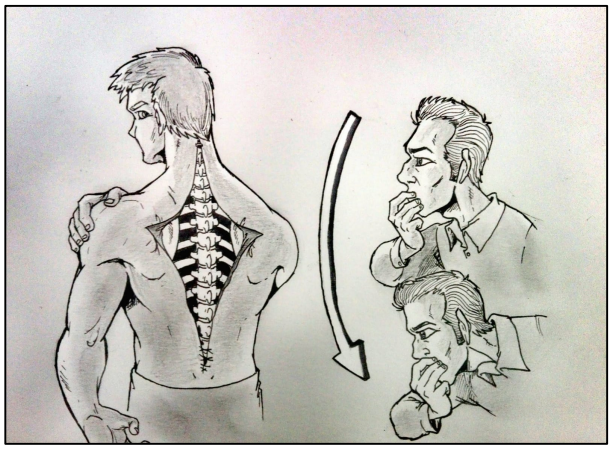
> (42) At night sometimes **the roll of drums behind the curtain of trees** would run up **the river** and (...) [HEART_EN_15]

The veridicality of (42) is easily questioned if considering that a series of drumbeats cannot literally *run* anywhere. An interpretation could be that of a Conceptualizer fictively following a rolling path of sound upriver, and the use of the verb run is justified in that it expresses the pace of motion. Next, let's observe some of the occurrences that would fall into the Type 2 coextension path category proposed by Matlock:

> (43) **Trees, trees, millions of trees, massive, immense**, running up high; and at their foot, hugging the bank against the stream, crept the little begrimed steamboat, like a sluggish beetle crawling on the floor of a lofty portico [Ground: the location of the trees] [HEART_EN_18]
>
> (44) (...), exactly as **a man's backbone** is seen running down **the middle of his back under the skin** [HEART_EN_20]

These two occurrences present Figures that cannot move around on their own. However, both examples trigger fictive motion through the vertical axis. Whereas (43) triggers a fictively upward path created by the rows of trees, occurrence (44) activates the simulation of a descending path along the backbone, as illustrated in the following figure:

Figure 9. Mental simulation in the vertical axis. Fictive reading of occurrence (44)



Example (44) is interesting in that the language user's mental simulation is even more reinforced and justified, paradoxically, through the use of the passive. Interestingly, all these occurrences with non-animate entities as Figures that triggered a fictive reading were constructed with the verb *run,* a first tier verb. In these cases, there were factively stationary entities as Figures and Grounds and a fictively moving Conceptualizer. Since the number of occurrences of this phenomenon in the corpus was relatively large, the research serves to reaffirm Talmy's claim that we have a cognitive bias towards dynamism. Additionally, there were few examples of the reverse phenomenon:

> (45) Watching **a coast** as **it** slips by **the ship** is like thinking about an enigma [HEART_EN_87]
>
> (46) (...), while **the wooded banks** slipped past **us** slowly [HEART_EN_89]
>
> (47) **The long reaches that were like one and the same reach, monotonous bends that were exactly like**, slipped past **the steamer** with their multitude of secular trees (...) [HEART_EN_91]

In the occurrences shown above, all the Grounds concern a factively moving entity conceptualized as fictively stationary. This is only explicitly clear in (46), and metonymically expressed in (45) and (47). In these cases, a second stage of interpretation through distal context was needed to grasp that information. Talmy termed these occurrences as cases of frame-relative motion. If in cases of coextension path we needed the existence of a Conceptualizer or language user, here we need an Observer, who is conceptualized as fictively stationary whereas another entity, the Observed, moves (Talmy, 2000a: 132). The fact of this construction being built using the verb *slip*, considered a second-tier one, may also suggest that the cognitive bias toward staticism is not as strong as the one toward conceptual dynamism. Finally, these are the two last occurrences of fictive motion selected for the analysis:

> (48) (...); as if **the forest** had stepped leisurely across **the water** to bar the way for our return [HEART_EN_79]
>
> (49) And then I made a brusque movement, and **one of the remaining posts of that vanished fence** leaped up in **the field of my glass** [HEART_EN_52]

Occurrence (48) portrays a case of what Talmy coined as *advent path cases,* that is, cases in which the location of a stationary object is portrayed "in terms of its arrival or manifestation at the site it occupies" (Talmy, 2000a: 134). The fictive reading is to consider that the set of trees

and other entitites that make up the jungle have displaced from one place to another, instead of contemplating the scene as factively stationary. The last occurrence under examination portrays a sequence of events that finally trigger the fictive reading. After a head movement, the Figure is conceptualized as fictively moving within someone's grasp, but it was the human being factively moving who triggers the fictive reading.

The study of the palpability-related parameters in Figure and Ground seems to be an indicator to predict the factivity or fictivity according to some of the combinations. However, the occurrences illustrated in this subsection need to be considered more globally, since their fictive reading seems to be caused due to further factors, such as the semantic nature of the verbs involved or the pattern of the preposition. All in all, this section aimed to present the discussion of the results obtained throgh a data-driven analysis. The last section is concerned with the conclusions drawn after the investigation.

7. Concluding remarks

On the basis of the analysis presented in the previous section, it is plausible to draw some conclusions regarding the objectives of the investigation. For the sake of clarity, it is worth recalling the two key research questions in this article: (1) To what extent does the interaction between the levels of palpability-related parameters of Figure and Ground determine the way we experience an event as factive or fictive?, and (2) What constitutes the prevailing pattern in Conrad's novel, according to (1)? Does literature exhibit a high degree of motion fictivity?

Regarding the first research question, results have shown that the set of palpabilty-related parameters selected has been useful and, more often than not, illuminating to determine or, at least, envisage the veridicality of the event. Figures and Grounds in interaction were therefore analyzed. It was not always a simple task, since there was a high tendency in the corpus to omit the ground, as was the case of 49 out of the 100 occurrences. Furthermore, there was an additional difficulty in the research in that there were some instances of Figures but, above all, Grounds that were made up of complex noun phrases. It is convenient to remark at this point that each one of the occurrences under examination required individual attention, and that the quantification of some of the parameters could be a matter of perspective, as occurs with the *intensity* feature. It is also true that the study of complex noun phrases, such as *the threshold of the invisible* or *the grove of death*, has been widely overlooked in the existing literature of

motion events. It seems that, with some exceptions, there is a preference for the study of sentences in isolation, without evidence of the discursive context. In this research, we have employed the terminological distinction between immediate and distal context, that is, two stages in the interpretation of Figures and Grounds. In this way, it was possible to analyze entities that required a greater cognitive effort than the entities that have been always prototypical examples in the field, such as the house, the yard or the cave. The first stage of interpretation is carried out through the immediate context, construing the scene from the palpability-related parameters of the entities acting as Figure and Ground, that is, the qualification of the entities as depicted by the literality of the author's words. However, at a second stage of interpretation, the distal context spots the actual referent of the entity acting as Figure or Ground, which may or may not coincide with the one inferred at the first stage. These cases imply a double cognitive leap.

One of the expected situations was the experience of an event as factive when having the combination of a perceptual figure with a perceptual or with a semiperceptual ground. This was true in 28 out of 29 occurrences and 37 out of 41, respectively. The combination of a semiperceptual figure with a perceptual or with a semiperceptual figure also was expected to lead to a factive reading. It was the case in 3 out of 3 and 3 out of 4 of the occurrences, respectively. The reasons underlying the fictive reading in all these combinations may be due to different factors that have been discussed throughout the analysis section: mainly the verb choice in interaction with the figure or metonymical / metaphorical relationships.

On the flip side and at odds with original expectations, the fact of having Figures and Grounds scoring low in the palpability-related parameters in the event has shown not to necessarily lead to a fictive reading of the event. Let's first consider the reading experienced with conceptual and semiconceptual Figures. There were only three ocurrences with a conceptual Figure and one with a semiconceptual one. Only the combination with a semiconceptual Ground led to a factive reading of the event because it was clear that the event was taking place in the spatial dimension and there was a factive moving of the Figure (see Section 6.3.). The three occurrences with conceptual Figures are clearly experienced as fictive and require a greater cognitive effort when it comes to the conceptualization of the event. In this case, the fictive reading in one of the example is experienced through the impossibility of a high abstract entity, as is life, for running out of a heart. Again the verb choice and also the metaphorical or metonymical relationships may play a role in the veridicality of the event.

Further attention should be paid to this point. The other two examples with conceptual Figures led to a fictive reading in that the dimension referred in the motion was not spatial.

Now let's turn to the reading with semiconceptual and conceptual Grounds. There were four occurrences of Figures presenting different scores interacting with semiconceptual Grounds and other four occurrences of Figures—this time, only perceptual Figures—interacting with conceptual Grounds. When it comes to the examples with semiconceptual Grounds, only the occurrence portraying a semiconceptual Figure seemed to lead to a fictive reading of the event, that is, 75% of the occurrences with semiconceptual Grounds were factive. This was the case since the complex noun phrases with relatively high degrees of abstraction that Conrad employed had a spatial referent, possible to be identified at a second stage of interpretation. For example, he employs *the heart of darkness* to talk about Africa with a higher degree of abstraction or subjectivity and *the grove of death* to talk about a delimited and clearly perceived ground, qualified by the abstraction of death. Moving onto the four occurrences with conceptual grounds, the findings suggest that three of them are undeniably experienced as fictive. Motion verbs in these three occurrences were employed to depict motion in the temporal dimension. The exception was example (27), *I put down the glass, and the head that had appeared near enough to be spoken to seemed at once to have leaped away from me into inaccessible distance*. In this example, we could infer the high degree of abstraction of the Ground at the first stage of interpretation and question the veridicality of the event. However, after a second stage of interpretation, we comprehend that the event undeniably takes place in the spatial dimension, even though the conceptualization requires a great cognitive effort. Interestingly, we can state that the fictive reading with perceptual and semiperceptual Grounds was due factors such as the verb choice and metonymical and/or metaphorical relationships, and with conceptual and semiconceptual Grounds was due since the event does not take place in the spatial dimension. In an attempt not to make sweeping generalizations through a small set of information, extending the corpus by considering other Joseph Conrad's novels could guarantee conclusive data.

There were twelve occurrences of fictive motion that were decided to be examined independently since their fictive reading cannot be explained by examining just Figure and Ground. First, in the instantiations under examination, a human being is often found to be explicitly in the event as Observer, or implicitly as Conceptualizer. Regarding these

constructions, it is interesting to note that they tended to occur along with first tier verbs, such as *run*, much more frequently than with second tier verbs, such as *slip*. As stated, further examination of these constructions is required to determine the factors that trigger the fictive reading. Some of them could be the semantic nature of the verbs involved or the pattern of the preposition. Thus, it is relevant to point out that something that is pioneering in this research is the analysis of a fictive motion involving mental scanning in which the simulation is hampered—if not impeded—because of the high degree of abstraction of the entity acting as Ground, as seen in *The long stretches of the waterway ran on, deserted, into the gloom of overshadowed distances.* As observed, the fact of being cognitively unable to clearly delimit the Ground leads to a greater cognitive effort in the conceptualization that should be addressed.

The most prevailing pattern in Conrad's writing was the use of Figures scoring the seven palpability-related parameters and Grounds scoring five out of seven. Indeed, it was the most frequent combination with a total occurrence of 41. That is, the hypothesis of expecting a high degree of fictivity in *Heart of Darkness* is refused since more than 75% of the occurrences under examination had a factive reading. When it comes to Figures and Grounds with lower scores in the Talmy's palpability-related parameters, that is, having a score of 4 or less, it is observed that the author slightly prefers to depict semiperceptual and perceptual Grounds rather than semiperceptual and perceptual Figures. Literary discourse has shown to provide a complex discourse when it comes to cognitive effort at different stages of interpretation. That's why it is suggested that further investigations could advisably examine a new level of categorization regardless of the factivity and fictivity; rather, this proposal of categorization would examine the cognitive effort required to access the mental configuration of the motion event, if possible.

Although there were no major drawbacks, the existence of some limitations needs to be considered and addressed. The corpus used in this project comprises only a short novel and the verbs that have been object of study were only manner-conflating verbs. Although considering only manner-conflating verbs was a tenable argument, in that they tend to cooccur with special cases of fictive motion, further research should address the study of Figures and Grounds with other verbs, such as the verbs *come* and *go*, which retain a deictic sense.

All in all, factivity and fictivity will remain a flourishing debate in the field of motion events as long as human beings keep serving of language to carry out the communication. Language creates reality and our reality seems to be cognitively biased towards dynamism. Motion is

pervasive in the language and that's why we constantly endow non animate and non volitional entities with the ability of motion. The question rising here is as follows: to what extent is this pattern reflected in other languages different from English? Since motion is extended to the temporal dimension, how is this pattern expressed in languages that do not lexicalize future in terms of linear time? Additionally, the analysis of literary discourse may awake scholars' interest for the study of complex noun phrases as regards cognitive effort. In this way, this investigation provides the field with a wise path to follow.

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9. Appendices

9.1. Appendix 1. Most frequent motion verbs in *Heart of Darkness*

VERB	TOKENS	VERB	TOKENS
go	111	follow	10
come	105	fly	9
get	27	leave	9
turn	26	step	9
run	23	stroll	9
fall	23	pass	8
shake	17	roll	6
move	16	slip	5
return	12	glide	5
crawl	11	sweep	5
walk	11	arrive	4
leap	10	rush	4
approach	10		

9.2. Appendix 2. Ten most frequent manner-conflating verbs

VERB	TOKENS
run	23
crawl	11
walk	11
leap	10
fly	9
stroll	9
step	8
roll	5
slip	5
glide	5
	96

9.3. Appendix 3. Occurrences of *run*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters[24]							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_01	run	A haze rested on **the low shores** that ran out to **sea** in vanishing flatness.[25]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_02	run	**The edge of a colossal jungle, so dark-green as to be almost black, fringed with white surf**, ran straight, like a ruled line, far, far away along **a blue sea whose glitter was blurred by a creeping mist.**	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_03	run	**They** jibbed, ran away, sneaked off with their loads in the night—quite a mutiny. [Ground: a camping site]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_04	run	**The long stretches of the waterway** ran on, deserted, into **the gloom of overshadowed distances**.	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	X	X	X	Fictive

[24] From now on, the parameters selected for Figures and Grounds will be represented by a number: palpability (1), clarity (2), intensity (3), ostension (4), objectivity (5), type-of-geometry (6) and actionability (7).

[25] It is considered that the use of any kind of premodifier or postmodifier influences the intensity with which an entity is perceived. Given this condition, such entity will be considered lively or intense. Additionally, entities portraying motion *per se* will be considered intense as well, independently of the being implicitly or explicitly mentioned.

HEART_EN_05	run	**The current** ran smooth and swift, but a dumb immobility sat on the banks. [Ground: the waterway]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_06	run	(...), had gone to **sea** in a Russian ship; ran away again; (...) [Figure: he]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_07	run	**I** actually left **the track** and ran in a wide semicircle (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_08	run	**They** broke and ran, they leaped, they crouched, they swerved, (...) [Ground: the deck]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_09	run	**The brown current** ran swiftly out of **the heart of darkness**, bearing us down towards the sea with twice the speed of our upward progress; (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	√	X	X	Factive
HEART_EN_10	run	Imagine the feelings of **a commander of a fine** - what d'ye call 'em? - **trireme in the Mediterranean**, ordered suddenly to the north; run overland across **the Gauls** in a hurry; (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_11	run	(...) before **the ebb** began to run, (...) [Ground: the waterway]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_12	run	(...), and I saw **the black people** run. [Ground: a ground with grass]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_13	run	I let **him** run on, this (...) [Figure: the brickmaker] [Ground: the speech]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	Fictive

HEART_EN_14	run	"... Yes - I let **him** run on," Marlow began again, (...) [Figure: the brickmaker] [Ground: the speech]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	Fictive
HEART_EN_15	run	At night sometimes **the roll of drums behind the curtain of trees** would run up **the river** and (...)	X	X	√	√	X	X	X	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_16	run	(...), and gradually I made out **he** had run away from **school.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_17	run	(...), with a wistfulness of tone that made **my blood** run cold. [Ground: veins and arteries]	√	√	√	X	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_18	run	**Trees, trees, millions of trees, massive, immense**, running up high; and at their foot, hugging the bank against the stream, crept the little begrimed steamboat, like a sluggish beetle crawling on the floor of a lofty portico. [Ground: a ground near the bank against the stream]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_19	run	I ordered the chain, which we had begun to heave in, to be paid out again. Before **it** stopped running with a muffled rattle, a cry, a very loud cry, as of infinite desolation, soared slowly in the opaque air. [Figure: the chain] [Ground: the shore]	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_20	run	(...), exactly as **a man's backbone** is seen running down **the middle of his back under the skin**.	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Fictive

HEART_EN_21	run	(...), I saw **vague forms of men** running bent double, leaping, gliding (...) [Ground: the shore]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_22	run	(...); and **Kurtz's life** was running swiftly, too, ebbing, ebbing out of **his heart** into the sea of inexorable time**.**	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_23	run	(...); and **Kurtz's life** was running swiftly, too, ebbing, ebbing out of his heart into **the sea of inexorable time.**	X	√	X	X	X	X	X	X	√	√	X	X	X	X	Fictive
HEART_EN_24	run	**The tidal current** runs to and fro in its unceasing service, crowded with memories of men and ships it had borne to the rest of home or to the battles of the sea. [Ground: the waterway]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.4. Appendix 4. Occurrences of *crawl*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_25	crawl	(...) **they** sickened, became inefficient, and were then allowed to crawl away and rest. These moribund shapes (...) [Ground: the recesses of the coast]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_26	crawl	(...); at work, when **he** had to crawl in **the mud under the bottom of the steamboat**, (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	X	√	X	√	Factive
HEART_EN_27	crawl	(...), like **a sluggish beetle** crawling **on the floor of a lofty portico.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_28	crawl	(...), **the grimy beetle** crawled on—which was just what you wanted it to do. [Ground: the floor]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_29	crawl	Where the pilgrims imagined **it** crawled to I don't know. [Figure: the stream] [Ground: non explicit but as physical inferred]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_30	crawl	For me **it** crawled towards **Kurtz**—exclusively; (...) [Figure: the stream]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_31	crawl	(...), but when the steam-pipes started leaking **we** crawled very slow. [Ground: the current]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_32	crawl	But still **we** crawled. [Ground: the current]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_33	crawl	**The camps of these people** surrounded the place, and the chiefs came every day to see him. **They** would crawl (...) [Ground: the camps]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_34	crawl	If it had come to crawling before **Mr. Kurtz**, **he** crawled as much as the veriest savage of them all. [Ground: Mr. Kurtz]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_35	crawl	'He can't walk—**he** is crawling on all-fours—I've got him.' [Ground: the grass]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.5. Appendix 5. Occurrences of *walk*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_36	walk	'**He** can't walk—he is crawling on all-fours—I've got him.' [Ground: the grass]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_37	walk	(...), and at the same time to be told that **Fresleven** was the gentlest, quietest creature that ever walked on two legs. [Ground: the ground]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_38	walk	**The slim one** got up and walked straight at me—(...) [Figure: a woman] [Ground: the floor]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_39	walk	**They** walked erect and slow, balancing small baskets full of earth on their heads, and the clink kept time with their footsteps. [Ground: the ground]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_40	walk	'Did you ever see anything like it—eh? it is incredible,' **he** said, and walked off. [Ground: the hissing ruins]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_41	walk	**The manager** bent over him murmuring as he walked beside his head. [Ground: a room]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_42	walk	**She** walked with measured steps, draped in striped and fringed cloths, treading the earth proudly, with a slight jingle and flash of barbarous ornaments. [Ground: the lighted shore]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_43	walk	**She** turned away slowly, walked on, following the bank, and passed into the bushes to the left. [Ground: the forest]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_44	walk	People were arriving, and **the younger one** was walking back and forth introducing them. [Ground: a room]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_45	walk	If you asked him for some idea how they looked and behaved, he would get shy and mutter something about ‘walking on all-fours.’ [Figure: no referent, but as physical inferred] [Ground: a physical one inferred, non explicit]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_46	walk	(...), to look at him was as edifying as seeing **a dog** in a parody of breeches and a feather hat, walking on his hind-legs. [Ground: a physical one inferred, non explicit]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.6. Appendix 6. Occurrences of *leap*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_47	leap	**The flame** had leaped high, driven everybody back, lighted up everything—and collapsed. [Ground: a physical ground]	X	√	X	X	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_48	leap	It was so startling that **I** leaped to **my feet** and looked back at the edge of the forest, (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_49	leap	**They** howled and leaped, and spun, and made horrid faces; (...) [Ground: the station]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_50	leap	About three in the morning **some large fish** leaped, and the loud splash made me jump as though a gun had been fired. [Ground: the stream]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_51	leap	**His heels** leaped together over **the little doorstep**; his shoulders were pressed to my breast; (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_52	leap	And then I made a brusque movement, and **one of the remaining posts of that vanished fence** leaped up **in the field of my glass**.	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	X	X	√	X	√	Fictive

HEART_EN_53	leap	I put down the glass, and **the head that had appeared near enough to be spoken to** seemed at once to have leaped away **from me** into inaccessible distance.	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_54	leap	I put down the glass, and **the head that had appeared near enough to be spoken to** seemed at once to have leaped away from me **into inaccessible distance.**	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	X	X	X	Factive
HEART_EN_55	leap	**I** left him to his slumbers and leaped **ashore.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_56	leap	They broke and ran, **they** leaped, they crouched, they swerved, they dodged the flying terror of the sound. [Ground: the shore]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_57	leap	I saw **vague forms of men** running bent double, leaping, gliding, distinct, incomplete, evanescent. [Ground: the shore]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.7. Appendix 7. Occurrences of *fly*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

HEART_EN_58	fly	**I** flew around like mad to get ready, and before forty-eight hours I was crossing the Channel to show myself to my employers, and sign the contract. [Ground: the village]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_59	fly	I was learning to clap my teeth smartly before **my heart** flew out, (...) [Ground: space out of the body]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_60	fly	The twigs shook, swayed, and rustled, **the arrows** flew out of **them**, and then the shutter came to [Ground: the twigs].	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_61	fly	I had seen, from the way **the tops of the bushes** rustled and flew, that almost all the shots had gone too high. [Ground: the location of the bushes]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_62	fly	Principles won't do. Acquisitions, clothes, **pretty rags—rags** that would fly off at the first good shake. [Ground: above a location]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_63	fly	Here and there greyish-whitish specks showed up clustered inside the white surf, with **a flag** flying above **them** perhaps. [Ground: above someone's location]	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_64	fly	(...) below the Inner Station we came upon a hut of reeds, an inclined and melancholy pole, with the unrecognizable tatters of what had been **a flag of some sort** flying from **it**, and a neatly stacked wood-pile. [Ground: a hut of reeds]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_65	fly	**Sticks, little sticks**, were flying about—thick: they were whizzing before my nose, dropping below me, striking behind me against my pilot-house. [Ground: a location before my nose]	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_66	fly	(...), a cry arose whose shrillness pierced the still air like **a sharp arrow** flying straight to **the very heart of the land**; (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.8. Appendix 8. Occurrences of *stroll*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_67	stroll	My purpose was to stroll into **the shade** for a moment; (...) [Figure: human]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	X	√	X	√	Factive
HEART_EN_68	stroll	Behind this raw matter **one of the reclaimed, the product of the new forces at work,** strolled despondently, carrying a rifle by its middle. [Ground: as physical inferred]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_69	stroll	"**I** strolled up. There was no hurry. (...)" [Ground: physical location]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_70	stroll	We got into talk, and by and by **we** strolled away from **the hissing ruins**.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_71	stroll	**Black figures** strolled about listlessly, pouring water on the glow, (...) [Ground: the ground]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_72	stroll	**The two below me** moved away then a few paces, and strolled back and forth at some little distance. [Ground: the forest]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_73	stroll	**White men with long staves in their hands** appeared languidly from amongst **the buildings**, strolling up to take a look at me, and then retired out of sight somewhere.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_74	stroll	(...) and then I saw this station, **these men** strolling aimlessly about in **the sunshine of the yard.** [Ground: the yard]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	X	X	Factive
HEART_EN_75	stroll	I heard voices approaching—and there were **the nephew and the uncle** strolling along **the bank.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.9. Appendix 9. Occurrences of *step*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters	Ground parameters	Type of motion portrayed

			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_76	step	(...); perhaps all the wisdom, and all truth, and all sincerity, are just compressed into that inappreciable moment of time in which **we** step over **the threshold of the invisible.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	X	X	X	√	X	Fictive
HEART_EN_77	step	(...), till **I** got out and stepped into **his shoes**.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_78	step	(...); but no sooner within that it seemed to me **I** had stepped into **the gloomy circle of some Inferno.**	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	Factive
HEART_EN_79	step	(...); as if **the forest** had stepped leisurely across **the water** to bar the way for our return.	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_80	step	Something big appeared in the air before the shutter, the rifle went overboard, and **the man** stepped back swiftly, looked at me over his shoulder in an extraordinary, profound, familiar manner, and fell upon my feet. [Ground: physical surface inferred]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_81	step	The manager appeared silently in **the doorway**; **I** stepped out at once and he drew the curtain after me. [Ground: a room]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_82	step	No! It is his extremity that I seem to have lived through. True, he had made that last stride, **he** had stepped over **the edge**, while I had been permitted to draw back my hesitating foot.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_83	step	You can't understand. How could **you**?—with solid pavement under your feet, surrounded by kind neighbours ready to cheer you or to fall on you, stepping delicately between **the butcher and the policeman**, in the holy terror of scandal and gallows and lunatic asylums (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Fictive

9.10. Appendix 10. Occurrences of *roll*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_84	roll	We live in the flicker—may it last as long as **the old earth** keeps rolling! [Ground: its axis]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_85	roll	**Rivets** had rolled into **the grove of death.**	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	X	X	√	X	Factive
HEART_EN_86	roll	(...), a whirl of black limbs, a mass of hands clapping of feet stamping, of bodies swaying, of **eyes** rolling, under the droop of heavy and motionless foliage. [Ground: eye's orbits, the body]	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_87	roll	**The man** had rolled on **his back** and stared straight up at me; both his hands clutched that cane.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_88	roll	(...) and I saw **the body** roll over twice before I lost sight of it for ever. [Ground: back's location]	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive

9.11. Appendix 11. Occurrences of *slip*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_89	slip	Watching **a coast** as it slips by **the ship** is like thinking about an enigma.	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_90	slip	**I** slipped through **one of these cracks**, went up a swept and ungarnished staircase, as arid as a desert, and opened the first door I came to.	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_91	slip	(...), while **the wooded banks** slipped past **us** slowly, (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_92	slip	**The long shadows of the forest** had slipped **downhill** while we talked, (...)	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_93	slip	**The long reaches that were like one and the same reach, monotonous bends that were exactly alike**, slipped past **the steamer** with their multitude of secular trees looking patiently after this grimy fragment of another world, (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive

9.12. Appendix 12. Occurrences of *glide*

ITEM	VERB	Instantiation	Figure parameters							Ground parameters							Type of motion portrayed
			1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
HEART_EN_94	glide	**In the immutability of their surroundings the foreign shores,** the foreign faces, the changing immensity of life**,** glide past, veiled not by a sense of mystery but by a slightly disdainful ignorance; (...)	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	√	X	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_95	glide	**In the immutability of their surroundings** the foreign shores**, the foreign faces,** the changing immensity of life, glide past, veiled not by a sense of mystery but by a slightly disdainful ignorance; (...)	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	√	X	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_96	glide	**In the immutability of their surroundings** the foreign shores, the foreign faces, **the changing immensity of life,** glide past, veiled not by a sense of mystery but by a slightly disdainful ignorance; (...)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	√	X	X	X	√	√	√	Fictive
HEART_EN_97	glide	**Flames** glided in **the river**, **small green flames, red flames, white flames**, pursuing, overtaking, joining, crossing each other—then separating slowly or hastily.	X	√	√	X	√	X	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	Factive

HEART_EN_98	glide	(...), **we** glided past like phantoms, wondering and secretly appalled, as sane men would be before an enthusiastic outbreak in a madhouse. [Ground: the forest]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_99	glide	I saw **vague forms of men** running bent double, leaping, gliding, distinct, incomplete, evanescent. [Ground: the shore]	√	√	√	√	√	X	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive
HEART_EN_100	glide	I was almost certain I could see movements—**human forms** gliding here and there. [Ground: as physical inferred]	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	X	X	√	√	√	Factive